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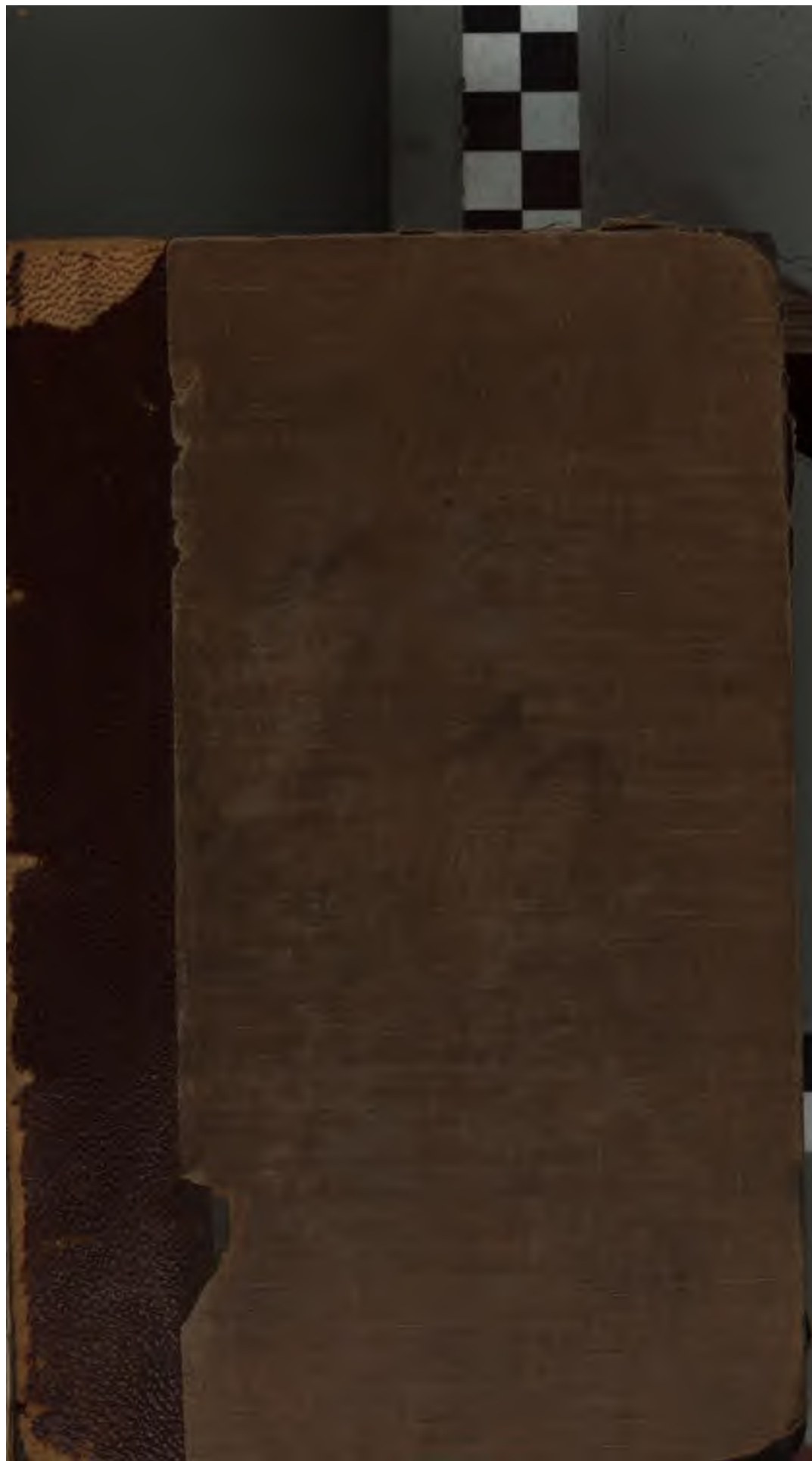
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FACTS AND DOCUMENTS  
ILLUSTRATIVE  
OF THE  
HISTORY, DOCTRINE, AND RITES,  
OF  
THE ANCIENT  
ALBIGENSES & WALDENSE

---

BY THE REV. S. R. MAITLAND.

---

LONDON :

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## P R E F A C E.

---

MANY writers have supposed the Albigenses and Waldenses to be the Witnesses predicted in the Apocalypse; and one of the most recent and popular advocates of this opinion is Mr. Faber; who, in his Sacred Calendar of Prophecy, has endeavoured to maintain the high antiquity and orthodoxy of these sects. That part of his work being comparatively new, and only published by him since I had ceased to think that any of the systems, founded on the mystical interpretation of the 1260 days, required minute examination, remained almost unknown to me until my attention was recently called to it. Much as I had seen of the manner in which historical facts have been selected, distorted, and mis-stated, to support the system of the 1260 years, it was not without surprise that I read the testimonies which Mr. Faber has adduced in support of his opinion; and I felt that it was due to the cause of truth, and to those who, not having the means of judg-

ing for themselves, might be misled by positive assertion, and the appearance of argument and authority, to shew how utterly insufficient, and even irrelevant those testimonies were. Finding, however, that I could not do this satisfactorily to myself, or with any hope of giving satisfaction to such readers as are worth writing for, without saying a good deal on the History, Doctrine, and Rites, of the sects in question—and being aware that some things were so much opposed to the popular belief, that I could not expect them to be received on my mere assertion—it appeared to me, that the best way would be to lay before the reader, the statements of such early writers as were within my reach—following, principally, the order of time. This I have done, and I cannot but hope that, by so doing, I shall not only execute my original design in the most satisfactory manner, but also contribute, in some degree, to illustrate a very interesting part of ecclesiastical history, which has been, perhaps, more than any other, misrepresented. Viewed in this light I trust that this volume may not be considered entirely useless, or unworthy of perusal, by some who are not interested in the question wh

gave rise to it. I am sensible that I might have made my cause more specious, by giving the work a more systematic form,—that is, by commonplacing the testimonies of writers, and selecting, under each head, just the words that suited my purpose. This would, in a great degree, have saved the reader the trouble of thinking, remembering, and judging—which, to say the truth, are just the things to which I wish to lead him, and for which I have endeavoured to supply materials. By the chronological arrangement which I have adopted, the subject will gradually open before him—he will see how far each extract confirms or contradicts the preceding—and will be better able to judge of the value of each testimony, taking it as a whole, and considering it with its circumstances, than he would be if it were broken into parts, and dispersed through the volume.

I could not discover any disadvantage sufficient to counterbalance these obvious benefits; but I am not insensible of one evil, which I have attempted to remedy. The same points are naturally taken up by various writers, and therefore necessarily lie scattered in various places, so



that it might give the reader some trouble to form an opinion on the concurrence, or discrepancy of testimony on any given point. This inconvenience, will, I trust, be removed by the index.

To what I have said, p. 443 of translation, I feel it due to myself and my printer, to add, that in printing all extracts, and throughout the authorities, I have not only followed the text when evidently corrupt, (with the exception of some obvious misprints in more modern books) but preserved the punctuation, which will be found extremely faulty. I have often departed from it in translating, but when professing to quote the words of others, I have thought it best to give them as I found them.

## CONTENTS.

---

|                                                                                             | Page |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| — SECT. I.—Review of Mr. Faber's Testimonies .....                                          | 1    |
| SECT. II.—Remarks on Milner's Church History....                                            | 43   |
| + SECT. III.—The Paulicians.....                                                            | 61   |
| + SECT. IV.—The Origin of the Albigenses .....                                              | 82   |
| + SECT. V.—On the Names Albigenses and Waldenses                                            | 94   |
| SECT. VI.—On the Genuineness of the Waldensian<br>Manuscripts.....                          | 114  |
| — SECT. VII.—Extracts from Public Documents.....                                            | 135  |
| — SECT. VIII.—The Book of Sentences of the Inqui-<br>sition of Thoulouse .....              | 213  |
| — SECT. IX.—Extract from Limborch's History of the<br>Inquisition .....                     | 228  |
| SECT. X.—Sentences and Culpæ from the Book of<br>Sentences .....                            | 270  |
| — SECT. XI.—Notices of the Albigenses and Waldenses<br>by Historians and other writers..... | 342  |
| — SECT. XII.—On the Religious Character of the Albi-<br>genses and Waldenses .....          | 451  |
| Authorities.....                                                                            | 483  |
| Index .....                                                                                 | 543  |

# ERRATA.

|                    |          |                      |                                 |
|--------------------|----------|----------------------|---------------------------------|
| P. 21              | line 14  | for <i>five</i>      | read <i>a few</i>               |
| 92 n. . .          | 6 . .    | <i>Antisiod.</i>     | .. <i>Autisiod.</i>             |
| 100 n. . .         | 2 . .    | <i>Gaudavo</i>       | .. <i>Gandavo</i>               |
| 104 . .            | 12 . .   | <i>Vallensis</i>     | .. <i>Valdensis</i>             |
| 109 n. penult. . . |          | <i>Wantuo, Wants</i> | .. <i>Wantus, Wanto</i>         |
| 202 . .            | 11 . .   | <i>we</i>            | .. <i>they</i>                  |
| 253 n. . .         | 18 . .   | <i>in which</i>      | .. <i>in each case in which</i> |
| 368 . .            | ult. . . | <i>must</i>          | .. <i>ought to</i>              |
| 391 . .            | 1 . .    | <i>decipiendos</i>   | .. <i>decipiendum</i>           |
| 405 . .            | 2 . .    | <i>three</i>         | .. <i>there</i>                 |
| 449 . .            | 6 . .    | <i>Tont-Saint</i>    | .. <i>Tout-Saint</i>            |
| 463 . .            | 14 . .   | <i>saltem</i>        | .. <i>salutem</i>               |
| 467 n. . .         | 1 . .    | <i>Sleidam</i>       | .. <i>Sleidan</i>               |



SECTION I.

---

REVIEW OF MR. FABER'S TESTIMONIES.

---

MR. FABER says, that from the prediction respecting the Apocalyptic witnesses,

“we learn, that, throughout the *entire period* of the  
“latter 1260 years, while the outer court and the holy  
“city were trodden down of the Gentiles, there should  
“always be a considerable body of measured or faithful  
“worshippers within the precincts of the allegorical tem-  
“ple, and that *two whole churches* should be *eminent* and  
“*remarkable* for synchronically prophesying in sackcloth  
“and for bearing their testimony to the truth with a sound  
“and enlightened conscience.” Sac. Cal. iii. 22.

He afterwards adds, that the

“two churches must be two distinct ecclesiastical com-  
“munities, taken out of the great collective body of the  
“measured worshippers, which should, eminently and in  
“their corporate capacity *as churches*, bear their testi-  
“mony, though in a depressed and persecuted condition,  
“throughout the entire period of the latter 1260 years.

“What, then, are the two distinct churches which  
“answer to this description? Where are we to find two  
“churches or two ecclesiastical communities which, stand-  
“ing upon the geographical platform of the Western

" Roman Empire, have testified against the demonolatrous apostacy, not at *this* time or at *that* time merely, like many individuals *before* the Reformation and like various national churches *after* it, but *unintermittingly* during the *whole* period of the latter 1260 years?" p. 23.

Considering that, according to Mr. Faber's system, this latter period of 1260 years began A. D. 604, and has not yet run out, one would think that the matter was quite hopeless; but Mr. Faber is not daunted, and says, boldly,

" To this question I reply, that exactly *two churches*, and only two churches, can be found, which correspond with such a description: the church of the Vallenses and the church of the Albigenses."

He then adds, that " the origin of these two venerable churches is buried in the *most remote antiquity*," p. 24, and speaks of " the *unanimous testimony* to their *high antiquity*, which is borne even by writers of the *twelfth and thirteenth centuries*." p. 25.

In order to prove these statements, he adduces certain Testimonies, which I proceed to examine in order.

I. The first Testimony is that of an Inquisitor, which Mr. Faber extracts from a document printed in Allix's book on the Ancient Churches of Piedmont. He says,

" This person states, that, when in the thirteenth century the Albigenses were driven by the Crusaders from the south of France, they fled to the valleys of the Alps.



“ Here they joined themselves to a community professing  
“ the same religious sentiments as their own : which com-  
“ munity is described by the Inquisitor, as having then  
“ existed, in the Piedmontese Valleys of the Diocese of  
“ Turin, FROM A PERIOD FAR BEYOND THE MEMORY OF  
“ MAN.” p. 26.

Afterwards, referring to this same testimony,  
he says,

“ The remnant of the Albigenses were, in the thirteenth  
“ century, compelled by the Crusaders to emigrate from  
“ the land of their ancestors. Thus circumstanced, they  
“ sought refuge, as we learn from the direct testimony of  
“ an *ancient contemporaneous Inquisitor*, among their Val-  
“ lensic brethren : and thus the two churches became ter-  
“ ritorially and ecclesiastically united, so that the one  
“ could not be extirpated without the other.” p. 39.

In a note on this passage, he adds,

“ The testimony, to the *emigration of the Albigenses* and to  
“ their *junction with the ancient church of the Piedmontese*  
“ *Valleys*, is so important, in regard to the accomplishment  
“ of prophecy, that I shall give it at large in the precise  
“ words of the original.”

This testimony might be briefly disposed of,  
by saying, that, so far from being that of “ an  
ancient *contemporaneous* inquisitor,” it is, on the  
face of it, the work of some person living in, or  
after, the year 1489; for it recites matters which  
occurred in that year<sup>1</sup>—that whoever the writer

---

<sup>1</sup> I do not know why Allix should have called this  
document “ *Scriptum Inquisitoris cujuspiam anonymi de*

may have been, and whatever opportunity he might have had of obtaining exact information respecting what had happened (even on Mr. Faber's supposition that he spoke of the Albigenes) more than two centuries and a half before, he does not in fact say anything of Albigenes or Crusaders—or of any community, of any kind, joining any other community. He simply charges the inhabitants of a certain valley with being heretics *at that time*, (certainly as late as A. D. 1489,) and with having been so from time immemorial, or (as he explains the phrase) upwards of a century; and he traces the origin of the sect in those parts, to some fugitive Waldensians who had been formerly driven out of Lyons.

---

Valdensibus." Leger, as will be seen, attributes it to Albertus de Capitaneis; and Perrin quotes it as his; and I cannot help thinking that I have seen something to that effect in Morland, though I cannot find it. In his account, however, of the manuscripts contained in the volume entitled Codex G., Morland places this one as No. 3, and entitles it "A Latin Treatise called Origo Valdensium, et processus contra eos facti, A. D. 1501." I can scarcely suppose that, by the word "contemporaneous," Mr. Faber meant us to understand a contemporary of his own; yet it would really be less incorrect to predicate that of the Inquisitor, than to represent him as "contemporaneous" with Simon de Montfort's Crusaders. The year 1501 was longer *after* the death of Simon de Montfort, than *before* the birth of Mr. Faber.

As however I cannot expect or wish that the reader should believe, on my mere assertion, that Mr. Faber has so completely misunderstood a document on which he lays so much stress, I will here reprint all, and rather more than all, that he has extracted; and though the text is manifestly corrupt, and badly stopped, I will give it as it stands in Allix's book, from whence Mr. Faber professes to have taken it.

By the side I will add Sir Samuel Morland's translation. Leger has inserted in his history what appears to be merely a French version made from Morland's translation without reference to the original, and which he entitles "*Translation d'un Manuscrit Latin, intitulé Origo Waldensium, c'est à dire, l'Origine des Vaudois, et les Procès faits contr'eus, compilés par Albertus de Capitaneis, dont l'original est conservé a Cambridge.*"

In fact, it is obviously one of the 'papers which fell into the hands of "the Sieur de Calignon of happy memory," at the taking of Ambrun in 1585, as Perrin relates in the second book of his history; and whoever reads it will scarcely doubt that it was written when "there were nominated for Apostolical Commissioners, a certain Confesser of the King's, and the Official of Orleans, who arrived at Ambrun, upon the fourth day of July, and in the year 1501."



## THE INQUISITORIAL DOCUMENT,

*As given by Allix on the Churches of Piedmont. Oxford Edition, p. 324.—Orig. Ed. p. 297.*

*Scriptum Inquisitoris cu-  
juspiam anonymi de Valden-  
sibus, ex Codice MS. G. in  
publica Bibliotheca Canta-  
brig.*

Ut vobis Reverendissimo  
in Christo Patri et Domino,  
Domino Rostagno Ebredun-  
ensi Archiepiscopo, vobis  
que Reverendis Patribus et  
Dominis Fratri Laurentio  
Cistaricensi Episcopo, et  
Thomæ Pascalis,

Orlianensi Offi-  
ciali, Commissariis Apos-  
tolicis, Regia et Dalphin-

*As given by Sir Samuel Morland  
in his History of the Churches of  
Piedmont, Book 2, ch. i. p. 215.*

*Translate of a Latin Ma-  
nuscript intituled Origo Val-  
densium, &c. The Original  
of the Waldenses and the  
process against them. The  
true original whereof is to  
be seen, together with the rest  
in the Public Library of the  
famous University of Cam-  
bridg.*

Vobis Reverendissimo in  
Christo Patre et Domino,  
Domino Rostagno Ebredun-  
ensi Archiepiscopo, vo-  
bisque Reverendis Patri-  
bus et Dominis, Fratri Lau-  
rentio Cistavicensi Episco-  
po, et Thomæ Paschali, &c.

To you the Right Rever-  
end Father in Christ, and  
Lord, the Lord Rostagnus  
Archbishop of Evereux,  
and to you Reverend Fa-  
thers and Lords, Brother  
Laurence, Bishop of Cis-  
tow, and Thomas Pascal,  
Official of Orleance, the  
Apostolical Commissary,  
under the authority of the

ali auctoritate suffultis ad causam eorum pauperum de Lugduno, quos vulgus Valdenses appellat, dictos a Valdeo, cive Lugdunensi, in loco dicto vulgariter Val grant<sup>2</sup> moram facienti, qui homo dives hæresiar-cha primus hæresis sectæ Valdensium inventor fuit, secundum Scripturam, qui bonis temporalibus renunci-ans, cœpit cum suis complicitibus vitam Apostolicam cum cruce et paupertate ducere. Et experrectis<sup>3</sup>

King, and the Daulphinate, sendeth greeting.

As concerning the cause of those poor men of Lyons, commonly called Waldenses, from Waldo, citizen of the said chief city of Lyons, depending in the town Val-grant, know that the said Waldo being rich, and the prince of heresie, was according to writers, the first authour of the heresie of the sect of the Waldenses, who renouncing temporal goods,

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Faber seems to think that there is much to be learned from this word, but I confess I do not see how. "The truth slips out even in the Inquisitor's own account. He tells us that the name of Valdenses was borrowed from Waldo; but then he speaks of Waldo himself having taken up his abode in the Val grant. It was from his occasional sojourn in the Valleys of Piedmont, and from his intercourse with the ancient Vallenses that he himself borrowed his own name, &c." (page 27. note.) A truth of this sort, which does not appear to have slipped out till more than three hundred years after the death of Waldo, is perhaps of no great weight: but I would fain know on what ground Mr. Faber assumes that Val Grant is in Piedmont. He speaks indeed as if this were a known and indisputable fact; and so it may be for anything I can tell; but I have not been able to find any such place in Piedmont.

<sup>3</sup> It is evident that Morland did not read *experrectis*, which, as far as I can understand, makes no sense. I have no doubt that it should be *expretis*, and that Allix, or some transcriber whom he employed, or followed, not being acquainted with the word, (as might easily be the case if he was not conversant with dog-latin,) knew not what to suppose but that it was a contraction for *experrectis*, and then, like some greater critics, he mended the language at the expence of the meaning.

viris ecclesiasticis, multos sibi discipulos sociavit, qui inde dicti sunt Pauperes de Lugduno, qui dicentes vivere sub obedientia apostolica, ab illa tamen se separantes pertinaciter respondebant cum redarguerentur, Magis esse Deo obediendum quam hominibus: fuerunt tandem et merito per militantem ecclesiam damnati, sed non radicitus extirpati, quia Lugduno fugientes ad ultimas Dalphinatus partes, se transferentes in Ebre-dunensi et Taurinensi diocesis in Alpihus et intra concava montium accessu difficilia, plures ibi ex ipsis habitaverunt,<sup>4</sup> ubi paula-

began with his complices to lead an Apostolick life, with the cross, and poverty, and despising ecclesiastical men, associated many disciples to himself, who thereupon were called Poor Men of Lyons, and pretending to live under apostolical obedience, (yet separating themselves from it,) did stubbornly answer, when reproved, that they ought rather to obey God than man; for which they were at last, (and deservedly) condemned by the church militant. But not being fully extirpated, flying from Lyons, they betook themselves to the utmost parts of Dauphine, in the Dio-

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<sup>4</sup> It is, I presume, on this passage that Mr. Faber grounds his notion, that the fugitive Lyonese found persons like themselves in the caverns and wild places, where they went to hide themselves, by whom they "were cordially received as brethren." I suppose Morland took it in the same way; for he could hardly be so absurd as to imagine that his readers would believe a story of 50,000 persons being expelled from Lyons, and footing it over France to Piedmont—almost equalling the ten thousand in their retreat, though less happy in an historian. This were rather too romantic; but the reader will observe that the Latin says nothing of the "fifty thousand." Whether Morland put in, or Allix left out, I do not know; but the Latin merely says, that "*plures ex ipsis*"—of these persons of whom he was speaking—dwelt there; and "by degrees" (not as Morland says, "in a short space of time") increased to a copious number. But, in fact, the obvious purpose of the

tim procurante satore zizaniæ, in copioso numero excreverunt, et demum palmites suos tristes in Liguriam, Italiam, et ultra Romam in Apuliam transmiserunt:

et quemadmodum Christus Redemptor noster discipulos suos binos mittebat ad prædicandum; sic et idiota et bestialis illius sectæ<sup>5</sup> magniscius alios

ceses of Evereux and Turin, among the Alps, and in the caves of the mountains, (places exceeding difficult to approach) where more than fifty thousand of them did inhabit. In these places through the great diligence of the sower of tares, they became so numerous in a short space of time, that they sent out thence their colonies into Liguria, Italy, and beyond Rome, into Puglia. And as Christ our Redeemer sent his disciples by two and two, to preach, so was the master of that cursed and beastly sect, wont to

Inquisitor is to shew how the heresy in question, originally got into these Vallies. If there was an "ancient church" professing these doctrines, and containing 50,000 members, before these poor fugitives came there, why should he mention the fugitives at all? If such an event did occur in the history of the ancient church, what had it to do with the "Origin of the Valdenses?" It is, however, a mere waste of words to argue the matter; for there can be no pretence for maintaining that the "plures ex ipsis" were people whom the fugitives themselves found in the vallies; and such an interpretation would I believe never have been thought of except to support a system, and make the Inquisitor say just the contrary of his real meaning. When properly examined, his testimony (whatever may be its value) certainly amounts simply to this—that the Waldensian heresy was brought into the Vallies of Piedmont and France by the dispersed disciples of Waldo, and was not there till they brought it.

<sup>5</sup> I do not know why Morland should translate "cursed and beastly sect." Supposing *Magniscius* to mean *Master* (for I confess I do not



magistros inferiores per ipsum creatos et probatos, quos vulgo Barbas dicimus, ad docendum et prædicandum hujusmodi sectæ doctrinam, hinc inde binos mittere solitus fuit, hi siquidem Barbæ creari solent per eorum supremum in civitate Aquilæ in regno Neapolitano; et in eorum creatione quædam solet fieri solennitas. Nam in derisum Romani Pontificis, eis nomina mutantur cum ad magisterium hujusmodi afficiuntur, cujus siquidem<sup>6</sup> damnatissimæ hæresis cultores quibus<sup>7</sup> viri et mulieres Vallis Clusionis Taurinensis diocesis, et omnes mares et fœminæ Vallis Frayxineriæ, ac plures val-

send other inferior pastors, created and approved by himself, (whom commonly we call Barbes) by two and two, to preach and teach the abovesaid Doctrine.

Now these Barbes were wont to be created by their Great Master (or Chairman) in the city of Aquila, in the kingdom of Naples, and in the creation of them there was wont to be great solemnity; they had their names changed, when they were admitted to this office, in derision to the Bishop of Rome, to whose doctrine and worship the followers of this most damnable heresie, namely, the men and women of the Valley of Clusone, in the

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know the word, and I believe it was unknown to Du Cange and his successors) I apprehend the translation should be "so also this layman (or "private person, having no ecclesiastical orders—or perhaps, what was "much the same in those days, this illiterate person, knowing only the "sermo idioticus," or vulgar tongue) and master of his beastly sect." Surely this is bad enough, without cramming curses into the Inquisitor's mouth.

<sup>6</sup> It seems evident that "doctrinæ" is omitted, and that Morland read it.

<sup>7</sup> For "quibus," of which I can make nothing, and which seems to be only in the way, I should like to read "quidam" as opposed to "omnes," and "plures," which follow.

lium Argenteria et Loysia Ebredunensis diocesis a tanto tempore quod non est memoria hominum, in contrarium fuerunt proni<sup>8</sup> plusquam centum numero ex ipsis sponte confessi fuerant, sequentes articulos contra fidem nostram, tenuerunt, tenentque, et immobiliter observant.<sup>9</sup>

Et

ut de eo constet et liquidius appareat, Procurator fidei<sup>10</sup> juncto Procuratore patriæ et locorum circumvicinorum patriæ Briançonensis et Ebredunensis pro manutentione fidei Christianæ et honoris patriæ relevatione contra omnes et singulos dictæ Vallis

Diocese of Turin, with all the males and females of the Valley of Fraissiniere, Argenteria, and Loysia, in the Diocese of Evereux, have time out mind, been contrary (as more than an hundred of them have confessed, and that of their own accord) in the following articles which are contrary to the faith which they confess to have held, and which they inviolably observe. And that this may be evident and more clearly appear, the Procurator of the place and places thereabouts in the parts of Briançon and Evereux, for the maintenance of the Christian faith, and for the exalting of his native countries honour, against all and every one of the said

<sup>8</sup> I think we cannot doubt that Morland read, and was right in reading, "prout" instead of "proni."

<sup>9</sup> Mr. Faber's quotation ends.

<sup>10</sup> Morland seems to have read *Procurator loci*; or else to have omitted this title altogether. I do not know what it means; not having, that I recollect, met with a *Procurator Fidei* in any proceedings, or account, of the Inquisition; however this may be, it is obvious that he was the person who on this occasion sustained the office of Promotor Fiscal.

*Frayxineriæ, dat et facit, sequentes titulos, quos petit admitti ad probandum, citra tamen onus superfluum probationis, ad quod se astringere non intendit, de quo et de expensis contra eos omnes et singulos solenniter protestatur.*

*Imprimis ponit et dicit, ac probare intendit, quod ipsi homines vallis Frayxineriæ fuerunt a centum annis citra ultra ac per tempora ipsa et alia a tanto tempore ejus initii memoria hominum non existit fuerunt et de præsentibus sunt hæretici, et sequentes articulos contra Catholicam fidem tenuerint et tenent; et hoc est verum, notorium, publicum, et manifestum.*

*Item et quod fuerunt et de*

*Valley of Fraissiniere gives in and exhibiteth the following articles, which he desires may be admitted for proof (to avoid the burden of superfluous proof, to which he intends not to tie himself); in reference whereunto, by way of charge, he solemnly protests against them all, and each particular person.*

*Imprimis, ponit et dicit et probare intendit, quod ipsi homines Vallis Fraxinieræ fuerint a centum annis, citra et ultra, ac, &c.*

*Imprimis, he allegeth, and saith, and intends to prove, that the said men of the valley of Fraissiniere have been there this hundred years or thereabouts, for the said term, and beyond that, even time out of minde, have been, and for the present are, heretics, and have held, and do hold the following points of doctrine, contrary to the catholic faith. And this is a truth, notorious, public, and manifest.*

*2. Item, that at the pre-*



præsenti sunt pro hæreticis et Valdensibus habiti, tenti et reputati communiter, et ab omnibus de eisdem et eorum vita, moribus, et conversatione notitiam habentibus; et hoc fuit et est verum, notorium, publicum et manifestum.

Item et quod de præmissis fuit et est publica vox et fama, nedum apud circumvicinos, imo et apud omnes a centum leucis et ultra<sup>11</sup> distantes a dicta valle; et hoc fuit et est verum, notorium, publicum, et manifestum.

sent they are commonly held, esteemed, and reputed for heretics and Waldenses, and that by all who have knowledg of them, their life, manners, or conversation. This also hath been, and is a truth notorious, public, and manifest.

3. Item, that this hath been, and is the common voice and fame, not onely among their neighbours, but even among those that are more distant from the said valley, for the space of an hundred leagues round about, and upwards. This also is true, notorious, public, and manifest.

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<sup>11</sup> It is observable, that when the Procurator, just before, speaks of "time immemorial," Mr. Faber catches at the words, and says nothing of the qualifying "HUNDRED YEARS or upwards;" and Leger writes in his margin "*Antiquité des Vaudois derechef avouée;*" though he, I should think, must have understood enough of the document to know that the avowal was not worth a farthing, except when thus used to catch the eye of a careless reader. But when, in the same rhodomontade style of special pleading, the Procurator goes on to declare that this was publicly reported "among ALL persons for the distance of a HUNDRED LEAGUES" round the valley of Fraissiniere, Mr. Faber stops short and says nothing about it; and Leger smooths it into "*ceus qui sont éloignés de ces lieux-là,*"

Now let me ask the reader, how far this document warrants such statements as I have already quoted from Mr. Faber's work? or such as the following:

"It is true, that the Inquisitor imagines the name of  
 "Valdenses to have been derived from the name of Peter  
 "Valdo: but then he ascribes this name, thus derived,  
 "not to the *ancient Church in Piedmont*, but to those of  
 "the *Albigenses*, who *joined themselves* to that church when  
 "they had been expelled from the south of France by the  
 "Crusaders of Simon de Montfort."<sup>12</sup>

Where, I repeat, does the Inquisitor say any thing of any persons but fugitive *Waldensians* (not *Albigensians*) driven out of *Lyons*, by ecclesiastical persecution, (not from the south of France by the Crusaders,) and where does he even insinuate that they "joined themselves" to *any church*, or found any man, woman, or child, in the caverns where they went to hide themselves?

Again, at p. 28, Mr. Faber says,

"The above mentioned Inquisitor represents Valdo as the  
 "founder, not of the *Vallensic church of Piedmont*,  
 "(which *he states*, in the way of a public and notorious fact,  
 "to have existed in its alleged heretical state, from a time  
 "beyond the memory of man,) but of the *Albigensic church*  
 "of the *south of France*, the members of which he describes  
 "as being vulgarly called *Valdenses*, from their asserted  
 "founder Valdo."

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<sup>12</sup> Sac. Cal. p. 27.

Is there any ground for this? The Inquisitor says nothing of Albigenses;<sup>13</sup> and I apprehend that whatever pains Mr. Faber, and others, may take to confound the Albigenses with the Waldenses, the Inquisitor looked upon them as entirely distinct sects; and I trust that the evidence which I shall hereafter adduce will lead the reader to do the same. The Inquisitor says nothing of any *junction* between these sects; and this point, so important to Mr. Faber's argument, is assumed without any ground whatever. Indeed it is not only assumed, but is argued upon as a conclusive fact. At p. 44, Mr. Faber says,

"The identity of the tenets of these two ancient communities is established, if I mistake not, on the fullest testimony. When the *Albigenses* in the thirteenth century were partly extirpated and partly driven out of the south of France by the crusade of De Montfort, and the operations of the Inquisition, the chief part of the fugitives emigrated to the valleys of Piedmont, where by the Vallenses they were cordially received as brethren: and, henceforth, the two hitherto distinct churches became inseparably united, the name of the Vaudois swallowing up the now obsolete name of the Albigeois. I am inclined to deem this single *fact* more than a counterpoise for all the Bishop's very ingenious attempts to confound the

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<sup>13</sup> I do not mean to cavil about words, and merely to state that the Inquisitor does not use the word *Albigenses*; but where does he allude to any persons belonging to the Albigeois country or any person coming from any place but Lyons?



“genuine Albigenses with those Manicheans, to whom, through Popish malevolence, the name of Albigenses may have been most improperly applied. The expelled Albigenses were received, as BRETHREN, by the Vallenses, *who are described as having already flourished in their native vallies from a period far beyond the memory of man.*”

Let me beg the reader just to look back at the words of the Inquisitor, and see what is to be found of Simon de Montfort, and the Inquisition, and the cordial reception of the expelled Albigenses, by persons who had already flourished in their native vallies, from a period far beyond the memory of man; and then we will call the next witness.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> It is right to notice that, after quoting the passage already extracted from the work of the Inquisitor, Mr. Faber adds “Testimony to the same effect, though not so copious and precise; is given by the historian Thuanus, “*Petrus Valdus, locuples civis Lugdunensis, anno Christi circiter MCLXX, Valdensibus nomen dedit—Cum jam multos sectatores exiguo tempore circa se haberet, eos tanquam discipulos, ad evangelium promulgandum, in omnes partes ablegat—Armis victi, in Provinciam apud nos et Gallicæ ditionis Alpes vicinas confugerunt, latebrasque vitæ ac doctrinæ suæ us in locis repperunt.*” Thuan. Hist. lib. vi. § 16. vol. 1. p. 221. Thuan. Præf. ad Henric. iv. p. 7.” Certainly the testimony of Thuanus is to the same effect as that of the Inquisitor; namely, that when the disciples of Waldo were driven out of Lyons, they came into Provence, and the neighbouring Alps; but what has this to do with remote antiquity, or any junc-

II. "My next collection of Testimonies," says Mr. Faber, "respects the church of the Albigenses prior to its final junction with that of the Vallenses; and it goes distinctly to prove the fact, that Valdo was no more the founder of the one church than of the other." p. 28.

As to the "final junction" of the churches, perhaps enough has been said; but I must remind the reader, that the present question is not whether Waldo was the founder of either the Albigensian, or Waldensian, sect; but, whether *both* those sects existed, and "eminently, in their corporate capacity as churches, bore their testimony"—that is, "testified against the demonolatrous apostacy *unremittingly* during the *whole* period of the latter 1260 years"—or for more than five hundred years before the time of Waldo.

Supposing then, that the testimony adduced should exclude Peter Waldo, that is doing but little towards establishing the required antiquity. It should be something, and Mr. Faber says it

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tion with an ancient church in Piedmont? Thuanus is not a great authority in this matter; but, such as he is, he is a most unfortunate one for Mr. Faber; for after thus deriving the Waldenses from Peter Waldo, and assigning his date, he goes on to derive the Albigenses from the Waldenses.

is something, which proves the Albigenses to have existed "MANY AGES anterior to the twelfth century." p. 33.

It is this—the fourth canon of the Council of Tours, held in A. D. 1163, "expressly declares "the *then well known high antiquity* of the Albigenses." And how does it express this "high antiquity?" Why, it says, according to Mr. Faber, that, "in the parts of Tholouse, a damnable heresy LONG SINCE sprang up"—that is, "dudum emersit."

The testimony is *dudum*—and I must anticipate a little by telling the reader, that, after the pompous announcement, which has been quoted, "about "*unanimous testimony* to their *high antiquity* which is borne even by writers of the "*twelfth and thirteenth* centuries," this unfortunate DUDUM is the *only word* brought from any writing of the twelfth century. DUDUM has to represent the writers of the twelfth century, and to bear the burden of "many ages," all by himself. Whether, however, he can sustain "tot et tanta negotia solus," may be doubted.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Ainsworth, says "DUDUM, adv. (1.) *But late, a while ago, not long since*, (2.) *heretofore*, (3.) *also, a great while since, long ago*. (1.) *Dixi dudum materiam aliam esse joci*, "aliam severitatis, Cic. (2.) *Incertior sum quam dudum*, "Ter. (3.) *Ut beneficium verbis initum dudum, re comprobe*, "Id." Morell, however, thinking (I apprehend very justly) that Ainsworth's authority did not bear out his third



I acknowledge, however, that anything like verbal criticism on the latinity of writers of the twelfth century, would be absurd; and freely admit that this very word *dudum* is used with improper laxity by writers of a low age. I grant too (if we use the expression in a common-sense way) that heresy had "long since" sprung up in the parts about Tholouse. Sixteen years before the time of this Council it had risen to such a height, that, Bernard said, "the churches are "without people, the people without priests, the "priests without due respect, and in short the "Christian people are without Christ. The "churches are reckoned synagogues, and the Holy "Place of God itself is counted an unholy thing; "the Sacraments are no longer held sacred, and "the holy days are deprived of their solemnities;"<sup>16</sup> and that even when Bernard was called to Tholouse to oppose it, heresy had "long since" sprung up in that neighbourhood, I will not deny; but to talk of "high antiquity" and "many ages" is

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sense has added the following note—"N. Vox vitanda est cum pro *jampridem*; significat enim paulo ante. T. M."

<sup>16</sup> "Basilicæ sine plebibus, plebes sine sacerdotibus, sacerdotes sine debita reverentia sunt, et sine Christo denique Christiani. Ecclesiæ Synagogæ reputantur; Sanctuarium Dei sanctum esse negatur: sacramenta non sacra censeantur: dies festivi frustrantur solemnibus." Ep. 241. vol. 1, 237.

altogether out of the question. I believe that Mr. Faber can produce no evidence, that any heresy, which he can identify with the doctrine of the Albigenses, sprang up in the parts about Tholouse before the twelfth century. I know of no intimation that heresy of any kind had sprung up in those parts earlier than a canon of the Council of Tholouse, which was held A.D. 1056; from which, however, it does not at all appear what kind of heresy was referred to.

III. "If we descend a few years later," says Mr. Faber, "we shall find the same *unvarying testimony* borne to the *high antiquity* of the church "of the Albigenses. The Archbishop of Narbonne, "in his letter to the King of Arragon, written in "the year 1213, bitterly laments the prevalence of "that heretical pest; but confesses, at the same "time, that it had been sown FROM REMOTE "ANTIQUITY." p. 29.

On this I would remark,

1. As to *unvarying testimony*—

The reader will bear in mind, that as yet we have had only two witnesses. First, the Inquisitor, who says nothing of any sect but that which he traces up to Peter Waldo; and, secondly, the Council of Tours, which says "dudum."

2. The letter in question (which is not from the Archbishop of Narbonne to the King of Arragon, but from the Archbishops, Bishops, and

Prelates, assembled at the Council of Lavar to the Pope) does certainly say that the heresy of which it speaks was "antiquitus seminata."

But let it be observed, in the first place, that, whether right or wrong, these prelates, like many other people, called the Albigenses, *Arians*;<sup>17</sup> and that the Arian heresy was "antiquitus seminata," in the strictest sense of the term, nobody will dispute.

But even setting this aside, it would be absurd to build upon their use of the word "antiquitus," and to fetch out of it all that an English reader understands by "remote antiquity," when we find them only <sup>a few</sup> ~~few~~ lines farther on, stating that Count Raymond (a man then living) had been a favourer of these heretics, "AB ANTIQUIS TEMPORIBUS." Surely it is right to see how writers use words before we pick them out of their context to make them the basis of argument. I have no intention to deny that the Albigensian heresy was older than Count Raymond.

IV. "To the same purpose," says Mr. Faber, "speaks also Louis IX. of France, in his letter "to the citizens of Narbonne, written in the year "1228,"—"he describes those heretics, as having

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<sup>17</sup> "Pauci Catholici infinitam Arrianorum multitudinem effugarunt" are their words in speaking of a repulse which the Albigenses had met with.

**“ now poured forth their venom DURING A LONG  
“ PERIOD OF TIME.” p. 30.**

So he does—but the question obviously is, what did his majesty, or those who wrote in his name, consider as a long period of time? what did they mean by “longo tempore?”

I have already mentioned the state in which Bernard found Tholouse more than sixty years before his majesty was born; and would not that justify the use of such an expression? As long a period had elapsed, between Bernard's visiting Tholouse, and the king's writing this letter, as that which, beginning in the last years of queen Elizabeth, stretched through the reigns of our first Charles and James, and the civil wars beyond the Restoration; and if it had been notorious, that any sect of heretics had been flourishing during the whole of that period, surely we should not be surprised to find Charles the Second describing them, in any letter or proclamation, as “having poured forth their venom during a long period of time.”

I am willing, however, to admit that St. Louis referred to a still longer period; for during a longer period the churches of Narbonne had certainly been afflicted. Why did Mr. Faber pass over the first paragraph of the letter, and quote the second? If he had quoted both, it would have been obvious what the “long time” was of which the king spoke. He begins his letter by



saying, "Cupientes in primis ætatis, et regni nostri primordiis, Illi servire a quo regnum recognoscimus, et id quod sumus: desideramus ad honorem Ipsius, qui nobis culmen dedit honoris, quod Ecclesia Dei, quæ in partibus vestris *longo tempore* fuit afflicta, et tribulationibus innumerais conquassata, in nostro dominio honoretur et feliciter gubernetur, &c."<sup>18</sup>

It is most wonderful to find Mr. Faber, at this stage of his argument, breaking forth complacently, "from such concurrent testimonies, nothing I think can be more *demonstratively certain* than the *high antiquity* of the Albigenic church even during the ministry of Peter Valdo himself."

V. Mr. Faber states that his next "Testimony is that of the Inquisitor General Reinerius Saccho, once himself a Vallensian, and

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<sup>18</sup> If this be not enough let the reader turn back two pages from Mr. Faber's reference, and he will find that in a treaty made with the younger Raymond, (the son of the gentleman whose longevity helped us before,) apparently at the same time that this letter was written, the king vouched for the "high antiquity" of the said Raymond by declaring that he had been contumacious for "A LONG PERIOD OF TIME".—"quod cum Raimundus filius Raimundi quondam Comitum Tolosani diu in excommunicatione persistens, Ecclesie et Dei volens esse LONGO TEMPORE contumax," &c. *Conc.* xi. P. 1. 415.



“ afterward an apostatic persecutor of his former  
 “ brethren: and,” he adds, “ this testimony,  
 “ which was given in the middle of the thir-  
 “ teenth century, subsequent to the final union of  
 “ the two churches in the valleys of Piedmont,  
 “ relates, I apprehend, to the joint antiquity of  
 “ them both.” p. 31.

Here I must just remark, by the way, that Reinerius, according to his own account, was not a Waldensian, but one of the Cathari; and as to any “ union of the two churches,” he seems to have known nothing of it. Nothing can be more distinct than the Albigenses, and Waldenses, in the work of Reinerius, as I shall have occasion to shew—but in the mean time let us have his testimony as it is given by Mr. Faber.

“ Reinerius, the apostate persecutor in question, who  
 “ could not but have been well acquainted with the history  
 “ of his former associates, and who, as an Inquisitor  
 “ General, could have no possible object in ascribing to  
 “ them a fictitious diuturnity, states expressly that one of  
 “ the three causes which rendered the Vallenses<sup>19</sup> more  
 “ dangerous to the Church of Rome than any other sect  
 “ was THEIR MUCH HIGHER DEGREE OF ANTIQUITY.

“ Now Reinerius flourished not more than about  
 “ seventy or eighty years after the time of Peter Valdo.  
 “ Hence, both from that circumstance and from the cir-

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<sup>19</sup> I must guard the reader against supposing that Reinerius called the Waldenses, or Valdenses, *Vallenses*. I have not found this name in any ancient writer as a title of the Waldenses. What is said by Ebrardus will be noticed presently.

“ cumstance of having been once himself a Vallensian,  
“ the renegade *must have known to a certainty*, whether  
“ Valdo was, or was not, the founder of the Valdentic  
“ Churches. Such being the case, *if Valdo were indeed*  
“ *their founder*, Reinerius *could not possibly* have described  
“ the Valdenses, as being more dangerous to the Church  
“ of Rome than any other sect on the specific ground of  
“ their higher antiquity: for it were absurd to talk of the  
“ high antiquity of a sect, an antiquity confessedly superior  
“ to that of any other known sect; if, all the while, this  
“ sect had not been in existence more than about seventy or  
“ eighty years, and if every person were fully aware that  
“ it had been founded by Peter Valdo of Lyons. Yet  
“ this is the language employed by Reinerius. Therefore,  
“ I think, it indisputably follows, that Peter Valdo could  
“ not have been the founder of the united churches of the  
“ Vallenses and the Albigenses.” p. 31.

To all this I might make a very short reply, which would probably surprise some readers; and I hope and believe, would surprise Mr. Faber himself: for though he twice quotes the work of Reinerius, without any acknowledgment that his references are borrowed, yet I cannot but believe that he had never seen the book itself, and was in real ignorance of its contents. He has, I suppose, been misled by carelessly copying other writers; and as the authority of Reinerius has been cited by one after another, for two centuries, and among others by one whose name must command respect, and might almost excuse blind confidence, it may be worth while just to trace the matter as far as I have at present the means of

doing it ; and I wish that, in conjunction with many other cases of a like nature, it may tend to put writers on their guard how they adopt authorities, especially in matters of controversy, and so make themselves responsible for the falsehoods and mistakes of their predecessors.

I imagine that this testimony of Reinerius to the "diuturnity" of the Leonists was first alleged by Illyricus ; but I have not at present the means of ascertaining this point. It was, however, afterwards adduced by Mornay du Plessis, in his *Mystery of Iniquity*, which was published, I believe, in 1607. Speaking of the antiquity of the Waldenses, he says, "Lest we should be left to guess as to this antiquity, our opponents themselves vouch for it. Among others, Friar Reinerius, who wrote about the year 1250 ; ' Among all the sects which are, ' or have been, there is none more pernicious ' to the church of God than that of the Poor ' Men of Lyons, for three reasons: First, because it is older ; some say that it has existed ' from the time of Sylvester, others say from ' the time of the Apostles,' &c."<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>" Huic autem antiquitati, ut divinare non sit opus, adversarii ipsi fidem perhibent ; Frater Reinerius inter alios, qui annum circa 1250 scripsit ; ' Inter omnes ' sectas quæ sunt, vel fuerunt, non est perniciosior Ecclesie Dei, quam Pauperum de Lugduno, tribus de

On this Gretser, the Jesuit, in his *Prolegomena* to the work of Reinerius, (which he published in the year 1613,<sup>21</sup>) observed, "It is vain for Du Plessis to cite Reinerius as an advocate for the fictitious antiquity of the Waldenses, since in his fourth chapter he gives it, not as his own opinion, but, as that of others, that the Waldenses had existed from the time of St. Sylvester the Pope, or from that of the Apostles."<sup>22</sup>

To this (if I may trust Sir Samuel Morland, for I have not the Archbishop's book,) Usher replied in a manner which will appear from the following extract: "The Friar Reinerius Saccon," says Morland, "writing against the Waldenses, above four hundred years ago, namely 1254, confesses the antiquity of their religion, which he calls a sect; see his very words, taken out of the *Bibliothèque des Peres*,

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"causis. Prima quia diuturnior; quidam dicunt quod duraverit a tempore Sylvestri, alii dicunt a tempore apostolorum." *Myst. Iniq.* p. 328.

<sup>21</sup> And which was reprinted in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, from whence I quote *Tom. iv. part ii. col. 715. Ed. 1644.*

<sup>22</sup> "Frustra autem est Plessæus cum fictitiæ Waldensium antiquitati advocatum adsciscit Reinerum; non enim ex sua, sed ex aliorum sententia cap. 4. ait, sectam Waldensium a temporibus S. Sylvestri Papæ, vel etiam ipsorum Apostolorum, durasse," *Ubi supra, col. 739.*

“ printed at Paris, 1624, the author whereof was  
 “ Jac. Gretsero, ‘ Inter omnes sectas quæ sunt  
 “ ‘ vel fuerunt, non est perniciosior Ecclesiæ Dei  
 “ ‘ quam pauperum de Lugduno; tribus de causis,  
 “ ‘ Prima, quia diuturnior, quidam dicunt quod  
 “ ‘ duraverit a tempore Sylvestri, alii dicunt quod  
 “ ‘ a tempore Apostolorum,’ &c. That is to say,  
 “ ‘ Amongst all the sects which are, or ever  
 “ ‘ were, there is none more pernicious to the  
 “ ‘ church of God, than that of the Poor people  
 “ ‘ of Lyons, for three reasons, First, because it  
 “ ‘ is of a longer duration. Some say that it has  
 “ ‘ remained from the time of Sylvester, others  
 “ ‘ from the time of the Apostles ;’ and although  
 “ Gretserus endeavours to shift off the force of  
 “ the foregoing passage by this evasion, namely,  
 “ that what Reinerius there speaks, he speaks  
 “ not as his own opinion, but as the opinion of  
 “ others. For if Reinerius had not believed  
 “ that sect (as he calls it) had not been more an-  
 “ cient than the preaching of Waldo, (which was  
 “ not, as Gretserus himself says, above 94 years  
 “ before his writing that book) it had been a  
 “ very ridiculous thing to have at all mentioned  
 “ the antiquity thereof in such a manner as he  
 “ there do’s. This is the learned and famous  
 “ Bishop Usher’s own observation, and com-  
 “ ment, upon the place of Reinerius, in his book  
 “ *De Christianarum Ecclesiarum successionem et*  
 “ statu, chap. 8. fol. 211, in the following ex-



“pressions.”—Morland then proceeds to quote a passage which the reader will find below, and which is to the following effect:—“It is however vain for Gretser to urge ‘that Reinerius ‘did not assert as his own opinion, but that of ‘others, that the sect of the Waldenses had ‘existed from the time of Pope Sylvester, or ‘even from that of the Apostles;’ for if we grant that he stated this as the opinion of ‘others, yet it appears that he stated, as his own opinion, ‘that of all sects, which are or have ‘been, none had been more ancient than ‘that of the Leonists or Waldenses;’ which ‘sufficiently shews that their first origin was ‘most remote from all memory, and certainly ‘proves (which is the point on which the Jesuit ‘demands proof) that it was no new doctrine ‘which was first brought into the world by the ‘Waldenses and Albigenses, about A.D. 1160, ‘and afterwards spread by a wonderful increase; ‘since only 94 years had intervened between ‘A.D. 1160, and A.D. 1254, when (as Gretser ‘himself tells us, on the authority of the Bibliotheca of Antonius Senensis,) Reinerius flourished. He would have made himself ridiculous ‘to every body who should have talked of the ‘‘diuturnity’ of a sect which had not existed ‘above a century.”<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> “Frustra autem est Gretserus cum opponit, Reine-

Leger thus triumphantly adduces the testimony of Reinerius. After quoting from the account given by the Monk Belvedere, in 1636, he says, “ Mais voyons encore le témoignage “ d'un autre tres-fameux Inquisiteur, aussi ex- “ pressement établi contre les Vaudois, c'est “ celui de Reinerus Sacco, qui n'a rien omis “ tant pour descoler les Vaudois és Vallées, et “ dans tout le reste de l' Italie, que pour cher- “ cher jusques au fonds tout ce que pouvoit estre “ de cette pretenduë heresie et secte, qui faisoit “ tant de mal au Pape, et *qui fleurissoit à son*

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“ rium non ex sua sed ex aliorum sententia affirmare sec- “ tam Waldensium a temporibus Silvestri Papæ, vel etiam “ ipsorum apostolorum durasse. Nam, ut hoc demus, ex “ aliorum sententia fuisse dictum: illud tamen apparet “ eum dixisse ex sua; inter omnes sectas, quæ sunt vel “ fuerunt, nullam fuisse diuturniorem quam Leonistarum “ hanc sive Waldensium: quod satis ostendit, primam “ eorum originem ab omni memoria fuisse remotissi- “ mam, evincit certe (quod ostendi sibi postulat Jesuita) “ novam doctrinam non fuisse a Waldensibus et Albigen- “ sibus circa annum Christi MCLX primitus in mundum “ introductam et postea miris incrementis multiplicatam. “ Cum enim inter annum Christi MCLX et annum MCLIV “ quo fratrem Reinerium claruisse ex Antonii Senensis “ Bibliotheca docet ipse Gretserus, tantum 94 annorum “ spatium intercesserit: omnibus ludibrium debuisset, qui “ talia de diuturnitate proferret sectæ, quam non amplius “ uno ante seculo exortam constitisset.” Morland's His- tory of the Churches of Piedmont, Book 1. c. iv. p. 28.

“ *dire, il y avoit environ 500 ans.*<sup>24</sup> Cét Inquisiteur dans un livre exprés qu’il a composé sur ce sujet, rapporté par le Jesuite Gretserus en la Bibliotheque des Peres, n’a par le *front de nier* que les Vaudois ne soient dès les tems des Apôtres; son témoignage merite d’estre icy transcrit de mot à mot en original. Inter omnes sectas,” &c.<sup>25</sup> He had before spoken of

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<sup>24</sup> I suppose it is on the authority of this statement, that Maclaine has said in his translation of Mosheim’s History, (Cent. XII. part ii. §. XI. note) “ The bloody Inquisitor Reinerius Saccho, who exerted such a furious zeal for the destruction of the Waldenses, lived but about 80 years after Valdus of Lyons; and must therefore be supposed to know whether he was the real founder of the Valdenses or Léonists; and yet it is remarkable that he speaks of the Leonists (mentioned by Dr. Mosheim in the preceding page as synonymous with Waldenses) as a sect that had flourished *above five hundred years*; nay mentions *authors of note* who make their antiquity remount to the apostolic age.” See how the story improves. Reinerius now vouches in Leger for *about*, and in Maclaine for *above*, FIVE HUNDRED YEARS. The latter of these writers too has discovered that the Inquisitor “ mentions AUTHORS OF NOTE” as vouchers for still higher antiquity. I have never been able to find any thing about 500 years in Reinerius; nor any reference to any author, of any kind, about the Waldenses—nothing, in fact, but the “ *quidam dicunt*,” and the “ *alii dicunt*,” which the reader has had in the extract already more than once quoted.

<sup>25</sup> Liv. I. ch. XXVIII. p. 169.



“ Un fameux Inquisiteur nommé Reynerus Saccone, qui dit que les Vaudois *ou Albigeois* sont du tems de Sylvestre, ou mêmes dès le tems des Apôtres.” Ibid. p. 15.

Allix, after quoting the passage of Reinerius, already repeatedly cited, says, “ Now it is clearer than the sun, that Raynerus would never have talked at this rate, *if he had known*, that the first rise of this sect was not above seventy years before he wrote this treatise ; as we must acknowledge, if we suppose Waldo to be the founder of it.” p. 193. Will the reader believe that Reinerius does expressly state—and that Allix was fully aware that he does so state—that this “ diuturnior” sect of Leonists was founded by Peter Waldo ? Will he believe that, in speaking of the Waldenses, only seven pages after the passage just quoted, Allix himself says of the Bishop of Meaux, “ He pretends they owe their rise solely to Peter Waldo, a merchant of Lyons, *wherein he follows Raynerus*, “ cap. 5.”?

What shall we say to this ? Was it dishonesty, or stupidity ? Which ever it was, God forbid that I should charge it upon all those who have made themselves partakers of other men's sins, when carelessness, or vanity, has led them to appropriate authorities which they had never verified ; but it is a sad thing, that error and falsehood should be handed down from one to

another till, after frequent repetition, they assume a tone of dogmatism, and authority, which seems to preclude all doubt. After reading what I have quoted from Mr. Faber, who refers generally, at p. 36, to "Reiner. cont. hæret. c. iv. v." implying, surely, that he knew both the fourth and fifth chapters—who states respecting the Albigenses, and Waldenses, that "the best informed Romanists of that period pretended not to affix any certain date to their origination. They were unable to pitch upon any specific time when these venerable churches existed not. All that they certainly knew was that *they had flourished long since*," and adds (I presume with a direct reference to "diuturnior," as the preceding words which he prints in italics, refer, I suppose to "dudum") "that *they were far more ancient than any mere MODERN sects*"—after all this, I say, would any reader believe that the title and beginning of this very fifth chapter of Reinerius, so referred to by Mr. Faber, are as follows :

De sectis MODERNORUM hæreticorum.

CAP. V.

"Nota, quod secta *Pauperum de Lugduno*, qui etiam  
 "*Leonistæ* dicuntur, tali modo orta est. Cum eives  
 "majores pariter essent in Lugduno, contingit quen-  
 "dam ex eis mori subito coram eis. Unde quidam  
 "inter eos tantum fuit tertius (l. territus) quod statim  
 "magnum thesaurum pauperibus erogavit," &c.



and then he goes on to tell the well-known story of Peter Waldo.

Now, if by thus exposing what may appear to be an inconsistency, I seem, as Usher suggests, to make this poor monk Reinerius Saccho, ridiculous, let me be allowed to add two remarks, which justice seems to demand; and from which I think it will appear that he is not so absurd as his misrepresenters would make him.

First—"Diuturnior," whether we write it plain, or translate it into "FAR MORE ANCIENT" or "HIGHER ANTIQUITY" is still only comparative; and it is obvious that Reinerius's idea of "diuturnity," as applied to the Leonists, was much less magnificent than Mr. Faber's; for just before, in reckoning up the characteristic excellencies which distinguished the true church from all heretical sects, he says, "The sixth is "DIUTURNITY; for it has existed from the times "of the apostles; but the authors of heresies are "new men, as the Ortlibenses, Runcarii, and the "others."<sup>25</sup> One of these "novelli" he might suppose to be "diuturnior" than another; and he might be right or wrong in his supposition; but he considered the Leonists as the oldest among the *modern* sects, and accordingly put

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<sup>25</sup> "Sextum est DIUTURNITAS, quia duravit a tempore "Apostolorum. Sed auctores hæresum sunt novelli, sicut "Ortlibenses, Runcarii, et cæteri." Cap. 1.

them first in his chapter "*De sectis modernorum hæreticorum.*"

Secondly—I see no reason to suppose that Reinerius was particularly well informed as to the history of the *Waldenses*. I have already said that he did not belong to that sect. In fact he distinctly tells us that he belonged to the *Cathari*, a sect which I believe to have differed widely in doctrine from the *Waldenses*, and to have had little or no intercourse with them, except as their companions in peril and in arms, during the Albigensian crusade. This I hope to make apparent hereafter; but, in the mean time, I would observe, that it seems to me very unlikely that Reinerius had any knowledge of the *Waldenses*, except such as he might gain either by public report, or through his office of Inquisitor; and I should not be surprised therefore to find him mistaken in any point relating to *their* history, which was probably unknown to his own sect, and into which it was not his official business to enquire. He knew that some pretended that the *Waldenses* had existed as a distinct sect from the time of Pope Sylvester; and perhaps he believed it in pure ignorance of the time when that Pope lived: and that others said they had existed from the times of the Apostles; and that he certainly did not believe. He as certainly did believe, that they sprang from a certain rich citizen of Lyons, whom we cannot

doubt to have been Peter Waldo ; but he does not seem to have known either his name, or date ; and, therefore, conceding what he probably could not contradict, he admitted that they were “ diuturnior ” than those other modern sects with which he had a better acquaintance.

I wish the reader to understand that I make these remarks only with a view to put the matter in its right light ; and that I am fully aware that their tendency is to lessen the weight of a testimony which, when properly examined, is decidedly in my favour ; but I believe that, though a most valuable witness, and one of whom I shall avail myself, as to that sect to which he was attached for seventeen years, Reinerius is no great authority respecting any other. If my object had been simply to carry my point, I might at once have taken Mr. Faber's words, “ having been “ once himself a Vallensian, the renegade MUST “ have known to a CERTAINTY whether Waldo “ was, or was not, the founder of the Valdensic “ Churches ; ” and might have replied, “ Well, “ then, this indisputable renegade does plainly “ state that the Leonists were a modern sect who “ sprung from Peter Waldo.”

Such are the testimonies adduced by Mr. Faber, and if there were a hundred more, I think that, after the specimen which we have had, I might be excused from examining them in detail. They are, however, all ; and of them Mr. Faber

triumphantly says, (I give the passage with his own capitals and italics)

“The evidence, which I have now adduced, distinctly proves, not only that the Vallenses and the Albigenses existed anterior to Peter of Lyons ; but likewise, that at the time of his appearance in the latter end of the twelfth century, they were *already* considered as two communities of VERY HIGH ANTIQUITY. Hence it follows, that, even in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Vallensic and the Albigensic Churches were so ancient, that their remote commencement was placed, by their inquisitive enemies themselves, far BEYOND THE MEMORY OF MAN. The best informed Romanists of that period pretended not to affix any certain date to their origination. They were unable to pitch upon any specific time, when these venerable churches existed not. All, that they certainly knew, was, that *they had flourished long since*, that *they were far more ancient than any mere modern sects*, that *they had visibly existed from a time beyond the utmost memory of man.*

“This, then, is the important fact, which has now been ascertained : and its obvious consequence is, that no account or theory of the rise of the two churches, which contradicts our well ascertained fact, can for a moment be admitted.”

After what has been said, this magnificent statement may perhaps require no remark ; but Mr. Faber proceeds—

“Now, since the Romanists are constrained to acknowledge their own ignorance in regard to the origin of the two churches ; and since those among them, who had the best means of information, will only venture to say, that these heretical communities had, in the twelfth



“ century already existed from a period far beyond the  
“ memory of man : I see not what more unexceptionable  
“ testimony we can resort to, than that of the two ancient  
“ churches themselves.”

“ *They*, then, constantly asserted, we are told, from  
“ the twelfth century down to the sixteenth, that, when the  
“ Emperor Constantine, in the days of Pope Sylvester,  
“ corrupted the church by the magnitude of his donations,  
“ one of the companions of that prelate, anticipating the  
“ Apostacy of which he then beheld the commencement,  
“ withdrew himself from the communion of the Roman  
“ Pontiff. He was joined by several persons, who held  
“ the same primitive sentiments as himself, and who wish-  
“ ed to preserve unspotted the purity of the early church.  
“ These pious men formed henceforth a separate society,  
“ out of which sprang the two churches of the Vallenses in  
“ Piedmont and of the Albigenses in France.” p. 34.

I feel that it would be an insult to the reader's understanding, to offer any laboured refutation of the idle legend about Pope Sylvester. If he does not at once see the absurdity of attempting to maintain that TWO CHURCHES, now in being, have existed for fifteen hundred years, in France and Piedmont, out of communion with the See of Rome; and that ever since the year 604, they have “ testified against the demonolatrous apostacy;” and this too, “ eminently, and in their corporate capacity as churches;” I should scarcely hope to convince him by any arguments which could be offered.

It is notorious that there is a silly vanity in some members of almost every sect, which leads



them to exaggerate the antiquity of their peculiarities; and that most ecclesiastical communities, whatever they may say, of apostolical succession, have no objection to number the Apostles among their members.<sup>27</sup> What but this same feeling could have induced some Protestants to shew so much anxiety to tack themselves on the Albigenes? to deny—or where they could not deny, to palliate their errors and heresies—to reject, or tacitly pass by, overwhelming evidence,—to garble, pervert, and put a false colour upon printed and written documents—and to publish, and republish, and triumph over, the clumsy forgeries

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<sup>27</sup> In a little book, entitled “Questions on Protestant Nonconformity answered, with Notes,” which the author appears to have intended to be “generally used as a *Catechism*,” and which I believe is, or lately was, so used in more than one Independent congregation, I find the following question; “Do we read of any DISSENTERS in the New Testament?”—the answer is, “ALL THE APOSTLES were dissenters, and so were ALL THE PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANS.” Such pretensions in the case of the Waldenses, if not perfectly excusable, are easily accounted for; as it appears that their original design was to revive the apostolical life, (or what they considered as such) and by strict and voluntary poverty, by perpetual migration, and indeed in all things, to imitate the Apostles. They were, however, satisfied to go back to the New Testament; but the catechism asks, “Who are amongst the *prominent dissenters* recorded in the Old Testament?”

which modern Vaudois have put forth?<sup>27</sup> Why have they taken all this trouble? Was it really that they might answer fools according to their folly? "*They will certainly henceforward blush,*" says Morland, "*and be ashamed to upbraid us as formerly,* by demanding where our religion was before the days of Calvin and Luther? If they do, we call Jonas Aurelianensis, Prior Rorengo, Samuel de Cassini, Rainerius Sacon, Belvedere, Bellarmin, and other most renowned Catholics to witness for us that it was in the vallies of "*Piemont.*"<sup>28</sup>

I suspect that some of these witnesses would not answer when called; that few of them would stand a cross-examination; and that all put together would not produce the effect which Morland anticipated. I apprehend that blushing is quite out of fashion in the society to which "Jac.

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<sup>27</sup> Should this language appear too strong, I would beg the reader to suspend his judgment for the present; and, in the mean time, let me disclaim any intention of applying it to all the writers who have maintained the extravagant claims of the Waldenses.

<sup>28</sup> Introd. p. vii. Maclaine, in a very erroneous note, in which he undertakes to correct Mosheim, says, "When the Papists ask us *where our religion was before Luther?* we generally answer, in the Bible; and we answer well. But to gratify their taste for *tradition and human authority,* we may add to this answer, *and in the vallies of Piedmont.*" Cent. XII. P. II. ch. v. § xi.

Gretsero" belonged, though I cannot tell what might be the effect of so unusual a thing as their being beaten at their own weapons; but I rather believe that the papists will go on misrepresenting us, and we shall go on misrepresenting them, as long as the world lasts; and bad as that is, it is better than misrepresenting God, and his truth, and all distinctions between right and wrong, by the cant of liberality. At all events, let us not imitate them by catching at idle legends and forged documents, in order to meet nonsensical questions. "Our religion," such as it is, is either right or wrong. Whether it was taught by Peter Waldo, at Lyons, and Peter Auterius, at Thoulouse, or not, is nothing to the purpose; and if any papist were silly enough to tell me that it was not to be found before the days of Calvin and Luther, I should feel it quite enough to answer, "so much the worse for the Church of Rome."

Of this, however, I shall have occasion to say more presently; and strictly speaking, it has nothing to do with Mr. Faber's Testimonies. His object is not to maintain the antiquity of protestantism as a sect; but to find out some particular and special witnesses against the papacy who have, from the year 604 hitherto, fulfilled, and are now fulfilling, the prophecy, in such a way as his system requires. I think it must be evident

to every reader, that he has not succeeded ; but I should feel that I had done but little in shewing that a cause had been badly argued, unless I could make it appear that it was bad in itself ; and this I hope to do.



## SECTION II.

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### REMARKS ON MILNER'S CHURCH HISTORY.

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**THE** sources of information respecting ecclesiastical history, which some, even of the clergy, think it necessary to provide, are so limited, that many readers may possibly have no other book of reference on the subject, than Milner's *History of the Church of Christ*.<sup>1</sup> As, however, that writer has given what appears to me a totally erroneous view of the **PAULICIANS**, in which he is, as far as I know, unsupported by any other historian; and as he has ventured to tell us that with regard to the **Waldenses**, (under which name he comprehends the **Cathari** and **Albigenses**,) Mosheim's information is "**SCANTY, CON-**

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<sup>1</sup> The author of the *Christian Student* has given a list entitled "*The Curate's Library*." Under the head of "*Ecclesiastical History*," we find only "*Milner and Scott's History of the Church of Christ—Burnet's History of the Reformation—Whiston's Josephus*." p. 415.



FUSED, and ERRONEOUS ;”<sup>2</sup> it seems necessary to enquire, what the authority of Milner really is ; and what right he has to talk of the “ mental imbecility,”<sup>3</sup> or the “ temerity and self-sufficiency of Mosheim.”<sup>4</sup>

I can truly say, that I have no desire or disposition to undervalue Milner. His devoted piety, and general talents, are unquestioned. The classical learning, which gave honour to his youth, was not likely to be lost, or diminished, during a life of tuition ; and the “ immense reading,” and very extraordinary memory, which his biographer ascribes to him had, I doubt not, furnished him with a great fund of knowledge. It is, however, most evident that his knowledge was not of that description which would have qualified him for the task which he undertook ; and without which, neither piety nor talents, could render him respectable as a writer of church history—especially of such a history as he projected. I grant also, most willingly and fervently, that the design was noble ; and feel as strongly as he did, that such a work as he proposed to write, was much to be desired ; and that he who would gather up those materials which are not wanting, though never hitherto fully collected, would be doing a real service to the christian church.

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<sup>2</sup> Vol. III. p. 414.    <sup>3</sup> Vol. II. p. 478.    <sup>4</sup> Vol. III. p. 371.

I have just said that if any papist should tell me that our religion was not to be found before the time of Calvin and Luther, I should be satisfied to answer him according to his folly ; but I would by no means be understood to admit the truth of his statement, for I believe it to be as false as it is foolish ; and feel no doubt, that, in the darkest age, there were many true, and accepted, worshippers of God. Not formed into churches, and eminently bearing their testimony in corporate capacities *as* churches, against the See of Rome (for then I think we should have heard more about them) ; but as the sheep of Christ dispersed abroad in the midst of this naughty world—known, perhaps, by this or that name of reproach—or, perhaps, the obscure and unknown, whose names were never written anywhere but in heaven. I doubt not that there were such, living a life of faith and prayer and communion with God ; overlooked in the bustle of cities, and the solitude of cottages, and even shut up in what modern systems require us to consider as the strong holds of Antichrist, the cell, and the cloister. I will not shrink from avowing my belief, that many a tonsured head now rests in Abraham's bosom ; and that many a frail body, bowed down with voluntary humility, and wasted with unprofitable will-worship—clothed in rags, and girt with a bell-rope, was a temple of the Holy Ghost ; and that one day—a

day when the follies of system, and the sins of party, and man's judgment of his fellows, will have come to an end—these, her unknown children, will be revealed to the astonishment of a church, accustomed to look back, with a mixture of pride and shame, to the days of her barrenness. She may ask, "Who hath brought up these? Behold, I was left alone; these, where had they been?"—but she will have learned to know the seal of the living God, she will embrace them as her sons, and will find better matter of discourse, than their superstition and her illumination.

In the mean time, however, they are hidden—perhaps more completely hidden than they need be, if due pains were taken to look after them, and gather what might be known.

This is what Milner undertook; and the design was as noble, as the execution was feeble and defective. Every reflecting christian must, I think, concede to him that such a work was wanted in the church; though, perhaps, few may be prepared to go with him in all that he says respecting ecclesiastical history, even as it had been already written. "A history," he observes, "of the perversions and abuses of religion is not properly a history of the church; as absurd were it to suppose an history of the highwaymen that have infested this country to be a History of England." Why, happily for this country, the

highwaymen have never been the most numerous, and influential, class of society ; but if they had been pretty commonly, the dominant power in the state, and had so carried matters that, during a course of ages, common honesty was high-treason, and day-labour a capital offence—if the rogues had been so many and so powerful, that a suspected disaffection to plunder was enough to hang a man ; it seems to me that a History of England which did not notice, and indeed was not considerably occupied with, the proceedings of the highwaymen, would be a very defective performance. Supposing ecclesiastical history, as it has generally been written, to be absolutely nothing more than secular history, yet, surely, of all secular history, it is to a christian, the most interesting, and instructive ; and “the perversions and abuses of religion” are matters which we are at least as much concerned to know, as the exploits of Alexander or Cæsar. Yet I grant that what Milner denominates “real church history,”—what may be called the history of God’s grace—being the history of God as well as man, and looking backwards and forwards through eternity, is the noblest of all histories ; and that to trace out, and commemorate, the manifestations of God’s light in a world of darkness, is a work of higher style and interest, than any other in which the historian can be engaged.

He, however, who undertakes it, will find



that it is a work of no common labour. If he is satisfied to go to Alban Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, and to copy from the *Centuriators*, and Dupin—to dilate upon Augustine, and Gregory, and Bernard, or wherever else the learned care of ages has prepared matters to his hand—and to dwell upon those scenes which have been detailed in history, and sifted in controversy—if he is satisfied, and expects his readers to be satisfied with this, he may soon make a book; and if he has the piety and talent of Milner, a popular and useful book. But surely “the real church” historian, supposing him to have all, and more than all, the qualifications of Milner, must go to work in another fashion, if he would do any thing like even such imperfect justice, as uninspired man can do, to such a subject. If his object is to trace the true light shining in darkness, he is not to wait till persecution has fanned up a flame, and then to run just where he sees a blaze, to warm himself at the stake, and rake in the ashes for relics—much less is he to trust to picking up those relics at second hand from pedlars, and to give his account of the *Auto-da-fé* from the newspaper. He must be out at nights, creeping under the hedge and beside the ditch, in darkness and dirt, to catch the glow-worm—or, to speak plainly, he must toil through much that is useless, worthless, and repulsive—much offence to taste, logic, and common sense; much ignorance, and much su-



perstition—he must be strong in mind, in body, and in purpose—his daily task must be “the reading that was never read ;” and half his books what where not thought worth printing—he must tuck up his sleeves, and bid defiance to dirt, and dog-latin, and all the tricks of monkish penmanship—he must have free access to old and large libraries, and full permission to ransack their stores—and he must *not* (however useful and honourable those employments may be, *he* must not) write basketfuls of sermons, and spend six hours a day in teaching greek and latin.<sup>5</sup>

Suppose a man should tell us that wood and hay, corn and cattle, and all that is maintained on earth's surface, is mean and perishable ; and that true riches consist in gold and silver, the diamond

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<sup>5</sup> “ During the first twenty-three years of his life, we find him exerting every nerve to acquire knowledge ; and during a great part of the last thirty years, he is daily five or six hours in his school ; then, besides his frequent preachings and visitations of the sick, his poetical compositions, and many baskets full of Sermons committed to the flames, on account of the Author's disapprobation of their contents, there are now in existence eight or nine hundred Sermons in manuscript, composed after the Author's sentiments had changed and were fixed.” *Dean Milner's life of Milner prefixed to his Sermons.* p. lix. If these are, as the Dean states, and as I most fully believe, “undoubted facts”—and if there is another fact which I think no reader of Milner's History can doubt ; namely, that he had very

and the pearl—we may, perhaps, be inclined to think that bread, and beef, and broad cloth, and all the staple of the farmer, and the manufacturer, are not bad things for common purposes; but acknowledging his nobler taste in accumulation, we keep our low conceits to ourselves, and visit his collection with respect and curiosity. It is very scanty; and he feels that it is so, while he exhibits this, and the other, morsel, and candidly states his uncertainty whether this piece of ore is really gold, and that rough stone really a diamond; and he tells us often, and with much feeling, that gold is scarce, and gems are not easily come by. We feel disappointed; but knowing the truth of his apology, and not questioning his diligence, we join in his lamentation, and make the most of the little before us.

Suppose, however, it should appear that this collector never went farther than the high-road, the ploughed field, and the market-place, to gather his stores? We know, to be sure, that travellers may drop coins, and trinkets, on the highway—that road-makers may hit upon a vein

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limited access to such books as his undertaking required him to consult—if, as the Dean also states, “the Scriptures were his constant study, and *profane* history his amusement, how could he think of undertaking an *ecclesiastical* history, especially on a plan which rendered the works of all his predecessors, if not entirely useless, at least very insufficient and unsafe guides?

in cutting down a hill, and road-menders may accidentally bring scraps of ore among their materials—that the plough may turn up minerals, and that those who have dredged for nothing but oysters, have often fished up pearls—but, even knowing all this, should we wonder that his collection was scanty, while he was content to be a pensioner on the accidental help of persons engaged in pursuits quite different from his own—many of whom did not know the things which he was seeking, when they saw them—never thought of looking for them—and even if they came in their way, threw them aside, as things not to their purpose? He might, to be sure, tell us that it would be very tiresome and laborious to be digging in mines, and diving in the ocean; and that he had neither the means, nor the leisure, for such undertakings. This might be true beyond dispute; and what must we answer? May we compliment him by saying, as Milner does, “*IN MAGNIS VOLUISSE SAT EST?*” I really feel that I could not; for it does not appear to me that every attempt at great things is praiseworthy; and however magnificent the projected tower may be—whatever plans and elevations the architect may shew—surely we cannot commend him if he begins to build without a due estimate of his means; and trusts that the excellency of his design, will atone for whatever he may do or leave undone.

This seems to me the more important, because



I cannot help thinking, that Milner's work is liable to encrease, rather than to diminish, the evil which he proposed to remedy. Referring to the way in which ecclesiastical history has generally been written, he says, "the evils which have been practised in christian countries, seem even greater than they really were; and the disagreeable inference which the reading of Mosheim produced in my own mind, is probably no singular case, viz.—that real religion appears scarcely to have had any existence. Infidel malice has triumphed though very unreasonably on account of these things," &c. I must say that, to my own mind, the evil which Milner states, does not appear so important as he seems to have considered it; and I am inclined to think, that those who have written on religious subjects, with a professed view of removing, or under a pressing fear of creating, offence in infidels, have too often exposed themselves, and, as far as they could, their cause. Yet, I grant that it is an evil, and one that ought to be met; but how? In fact how did the case stand before, and how does it stand at present? When Milner heard the infidel unjustly triumphing, he might have told him that the ecclesiastical historians of whom he spoke, were the annalists of a secularized church, and made no profession of seeking out,

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<sup>6</sup> Introd. p. v.

and drawing to light, those whose characteristic it is, that the world knoweth them not; but were we now to tell him this, he would answer, "well, "I grant this, but here is a writer of *real church history*—one whose mind was affected as my "own is—and who went to work on that very "account, and with a special view to meet this "objection—and what is the result?"

Let me, however, be more specific—for I should be sorry to be thought guilty of falsely accusing, or even underrating any man, especially one, on many accounts, so respectable.

If there ever was a period, with reference to which the infidel's objection might seem to be plausible, and when he might pretend that real religion was not to be found, and the real church not in existence, surely it was in the tenth century, commonly called the *SÆCULUM OBSCURUM*. For such a period, the writer of "real church history," whose express object it was to meet this objection, would surely exert himself; and would think nothing of picking over a bushel of chaff, if peradventure he might find two grains of wheat. Though he might learn from Baroni-  
nius, that it was "a dark age, remarkable above  
"all others for the scarcity of writers and  
"men of learning," he would be anxious to get hold of whatever writers there were; and though

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<sup>7</sup> Milner. vol. III. 245.



he might take the Cardinal's word that they were not men of learning, would not feel satisfied without examination, that some of them might not be such persons as he was in search of. Dupin<sup>8</sup> would furnish a list of eighty-six writers of this century—some of them to be sure little more than names, some hard to get at, and some, perhaps, quite out of reach—but does it appear that Milner ever saw *one*?<sup>9</sup> that he ever looked into *a single writer* of the tenth century, to see whether there might not be something to his purpose, which the defective historians had passed over? I think not—he does not speak as if he had ever seen, or sought after, or thought of looking at, one; though the extracts which he found in the Centuriators, might have tempted him.<sup>9</sup> Mosheim

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<sup>8</sup> “From whom,” says Milner, (though Dupin was a Roman Catholic, and one of the authors whose deficiencies he was writing to supply) “I derive particular information on subjects of this nature.” Vol. II. p. 529.

<sup>9</sup> As they did on another occasion, “All the accounts of antiquity are full of the praises of Vicelinus; and his character is briefly, but very strongly celebrated by Mosheim, with such unqualified commendations, that I cannot but wish that very learned historian had favoured us with an abridgment of his life and actions, taken from the sources of information, which *he quotes* but *which seem* to us inaccessible. I have consulted the Centuriators, and find matter there *sufficient to excite, but not to satisfy* our curiosity. The little to be collected from them shall be

alone, would have furnished him with references to a host of historians, and other writers relative to the period—did he refer to them? Let the reader compare the references of the two historians, and judge. In fact, Milner has disposed of the whole century—one, not only requiring, as I have said, his utmost exertion from its obscurity, but one that offered to the apologist of christian missions, a fair prospect of reward for his labours—in *thirty-eight* octavo pages, of which *five* are an apology for christian missions; and his references shew the sources from whence he derived what information he had. They are *thirty-two* in number—*nineteen* to the CENTURIATORS, who “omit, or very lamely recount, some most important Christian facts,”<sup>10</sup>—*five* to ALBAN BUTLER, “a zealous Roman Catholic”<sup>11</sup>

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“mentioned in the next chapter. And here is an instance  
“of that which I have had but *too frequent* occasion to re-  
“mark, namely, an *extreme scantiness* of information on  
“subjects most worthy of our researches [researches?]  
“How willingly would the evangelical reader have excused  
“the omission of many pages in Mosheim, if he had grati-  
“fied us with an orderly account of one of the best and  
“wisest christian missionaries of the age.” Vol. III. p. 431.  
If he had written without prejudice, could Milner have helped seeing, that such a detailed account of an individual, however excellent, was not Mosheim’s business, and that it was most particularly his own?

<sup>10</sup> Introd. p. v.

<sup>11</sup> Vol. III. 195.

—*four* to MOSHEIM, whose deficiencies it was his object to supply—*one* to BARONIUS, almost, I apprehend, as zealous a Roman Catholic, as Alban Butler, and as defective a historian as Mosheim—*one* to BISHOP NEWTON—*one* to GIBBON—and (we must go if possible a step farther from orthodoxy) *one* to the KING OF PRUSSIA.

Now people who ever smile, must surely be tempted when they see such a motley group assembled, to lend their aid to a writer of “real church history,” and to enable him to supply the defects of former historians, respecting the state of true religion, in an obscure, but very interesting, period of history? Yet I feel that it is no laughing matter, when we couple it with Milner’s pretensions—with his constant reproach of others—and, above all, with his own plain and positive statement, “I have all along, however, “to the best of my ability, and opportunity, consulted ORIGINAL RECORDS, and have NEVER “contented myself with copying the sentiments of “MODERN HISTORIANS.” What original records of the tenth century—I do not mean autograph manuscripts—but what writer of the tenth century, or that was not *modern* by *five hundred years* did he consult? I suppose that all we can say is, that this declaration (though prefixed to subsequent editions of the whole work) was made when he had written only the first volume,



and that by *original records*, he meant the New Testament, and the works of the most commonly known fathers of the first three centuries; and that when he got farther, and *original records* became more difficult to obtain, he changed his plan. This may have been the case; but it is a pity that if his ability, and opportunity, for consulting original records, did not extend farther than his references seem to indicate, he did not desist when such references became not only more difficult, but more necessary. But of the possibility of getting almost any, but the commonest books, he seems to have had scarcely any idea, and it is hard to imagine with what stock of church-history-reading, and books, he set out upon his arduous undertaking. The Centuriators, to whom more than half the above references are made, he "did not meet with" until he had finished his first volume,<sup>12</sup> and if he had ever seen the Councils, he managed, I believe, to get into the ninth century, and to the 209th page of his third volume, without a single reference to them.

This, however, is the writer who, in regard to the Waldenses, tells us that "the information of Mosheim concerning this people, seems very

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<sup>12</sup> I do not mean that they were necessary to that part of his undertaking, where, in fact, they would have been of less use than in any other—but what he says (Introd. p. v.) seems to imply, that he did not know the book, until after he had written the history of three centuries.

“*scanty, confused, and erroneous.*”<sup>13</sup> The Chancellor of Gottingen, pleading the privilege of age,<sup>14</sup> was inclined to boast, that after the greatest part of a life devoted to the study of ecclesiastical history; and a course of reading which even, when we give him credit for unusual diligence, and extraordinary means, seems almost incredible;<sup>15</sup> he was able to throw fresh light on some

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<sup>13</sup> Vol. III. p. 444.

<sup>14</sup> “*Liceat mihi jure senectutis uti, et pauca quædam de me gloriarî.*” *Præf.*

<sup>15</sup> It must be observed, that the innumerable references of Mosheim, (at least according to his statement, which I have never found reason to doubt) were not collected at second hand; but that in *every case*, he had the books before him, and read, and compared, for himself—“*omnes quos testatus sum, ipse ante oculos habui, tractavi, legi, inter se contuli, alienæque fidei me committere nolui.*” Poor man—he little thought that his numerous references would be turned into a ground of accusation. “The learned Dr. Mosheim,” says the editor of the fifth volume of Milner’s History, “in his compendium, refers to a long list of eminent authors, who, he says, are to be consulted in confirmation of his brief statements. Now such an intimation appears to me, to have the effect of at once overwhelming the courage and resolution of any *ordinary student* of ecclesiastical history.” I really do not see this, unless the ordinary student is compelled by force, or law, to look out the references, and made an extraordinary student against his will; supposing it to be true, as to ordinary *students*, what should the effect have been on one who professed to be something more than an ordinary *writer* of Church History?



few subjects, which he specified in his preface. Among these were the Cathari, and Albigenses, as he denominates persons of whom Milner speaks under the name of Waldenses. Respecting these persons we might, therefore, especially doubt whether Mosheim's information was "scanty," even if it should turn out to be (unlike his information on other subjects) "confused and erroneous." For brevity's sake, however, as well as to cut off all possibility of cavil, let us take the word Waldenses, not as it is generally used by Milner, but in the restricted sense in which Mosheim (following, I believe, every ancient writer who had any knowledge of the sect) employed it. Did any body ever suppose for a moment, that Milner had ever seen the outside of one half the works which Mosheim quotes at one opening of his book?<sup>16</sup> I must say—and I say it sincerely—that I have such confidence in

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<sup>16</sup> pp. 486, 487. They are, DU CANGE *Gloss.*—NICOL. EYMERICI *Direct. Inquis.*—STEPH. de BORBONE *de Sept. Donis Sp. S.* in JAC. ECHARD et QUETIF *Bib. Scrip. Dominic.*—ANON. *de hæresi Paup. de Lug.* in MARTENE *Thesaur. Anecd.*—REINERIIUS SACHO—MONETA *Sum. cont. Cath. et Vald.* a RICHINIO *ed.*—PILICHDORFIUS *con. Vald.*—JO. PAUL. PERRIN *Hist. &c.*—JO. LEGER *Hist. gen. des Eg. Vaud.*—JAC. USSERI *de Successione Ecc.*—JAC. BASNAGE *Hist. des Egl. Ref.*—T. A. RICHINIUS *Diss. de Wald.*—BOULAY *Hist. Acad. Paris*,—and on the next page, he adds what is certainly one of the most important authorities, "*Codex Inquisitionis Tolosane* à LIMBORCHIO editus.

Milner's good sense, and sound judgment, as renders me almost certain that, if he had done so, his own account of the Waldenses would have been, I do not say less scanty, (for it is just one of the faults of his history, that he dilates where information is the most plentiful and easily obtained) but certainly less "*confused and erroneous*," than it undoubtedly is.

### SECTION III.

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#### THE PAULICIANS.

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IN order to form a right opinion of the Albigenes, and their claim to be considered as persons of eminent piety, and real reformers of the church, it seems needful to take some notice of the faith, and history, of the Paulicians, a sect who arose in the East, in the seventh century; and I am the more inclined to do this because, as I have elsewhere stated, an attempt has been made to maintain their orthodoxy, and to set them up as the witnesses.<sup>1</sup> The truth is, I believe, that those who maintain the doctrine of the 1260 years, have been so hard pressed in their attempts to find witnesses, that they have been glad to seize hold of any persons, who have been, or whom they can pretend to have been, in any way opposed to that power, whom their system compels them to consider as the Man of Sin. What

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<sup>1</sup> Letter to the Rev. W. Digby. p. 59.

has been already cited from Mr. Faber's work, sufficiently evinces how difficult it is to obtain anything in the shape of witnesses against the Papacy, in the West, before the twelfth century ; and therefore some writers have endeavoured to shew, not only that the Paulicians were eminently orthodox, but also, that they were persecuted by the See of Rome.

On these two points, then, it would be worth while to say a few words, were it only to expose the erroneous statements by which that system, which it is my object to oppose, is maintained—but beside this, some notice of this sect will, I think, greatly conduce to our taking a proper view of the Albigenses.

As to the Paulicians, I do not know of any historian, before Milner, who has not considered them as heretics ; and why he thus departed from the course of his predecessors, unless he was led by mistake, or prejudice, does not appear. He does not pretend to have any authority. He tells us that he drew his materials from Gibbon, and Mosheim. The original writers not having fallen into his hands, he says, “ by the assistance of the two modern authors, I shall state the few facts which are known, and give as impartial a judgment, concerning the sect in question, as I can.” How far he really has followed these authors, as to the facts of the case, remains to be seen ; but I must first notice what



he adds in this place, and what, perhaps, suggested to him a course which is, I believe, in direct opposition to that of every other historian.

After thus mentioning the authors, by whose assistance he meant to state the facts respecting the Paulicians, he adds, "the candour of Gibbon" "is remarkable in this part of his history. O si sic omnia !"

Gibbon's candour on such a subject *remarkable*? Why, had Milner ever known an infidel, who was not affectionately candid towards heretics, who had been persecuted by the orthodox? Surely the "victims of spiritual tyranny," were just the objects to excite the candour of Gibbon, and this Milner, of all men, ought to have known.<sup>2</sup> Gibbon had been obliged, in his XVI chapter, to exhibit the mild virtues of paganism, as sullied by something almost amounting to persecution; and to admit those sufferings, which "the primitive christians lamented, and *perhaps* magnified"—he had been obliged to suggest, that

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<sup>2</sup> "The very little leisure, which the laborious employment of teaching a school, and other still more important cares, have left me, I studiously devote to the reading of history. Mr. Gibbon's performance falling in my way, I read it with avidity, delighted as I went along, to find a new light and order given to subjects, which I had read indeed when young, but had never seen arranged with such perspicuity and philosophical precision. In one point of view only, truth and impartiality, seemed

“ these *transient* sufferings, served only to revive  
 “ the zeal, and to restore the discipline, of the  
 “ faithful”—to smooth down the persecution of  
 Marcus Antoninus, into “ the *hardships* which  
 “ they endured under the government of a *virtuous*  
 “ prince.....who had despised the christians  
 “ as a philosopher, and punished them as a sove-  
 “ reign”—to point out in the “ *mitigated* persecu-  
 tion” of Severus, “ the *indulgent* spirit of Rome  
 and Polytheism”—to shew that the proceedings  
 of Maximin, have “ *improperly* received the  
 name of persecution”—and that “ the effects of  
 “ his resentment against the christians, were of a  
 “ very local and temporary nature”—to palliate  
 “ the *rigorous treatment* which they experienced  
 under the short reign of Decius,” and to tell us  
 that “ the *virtues* of that prince, will scarcely  
 “ allow us to suspect that he was actuated by a  
 “ mean resentment against the favourites of his  
 “ predecessor ; and it is more reasonable to be-  
 “ lieve that, in the prosecution of his general

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“ evidently to be wanting. The reader will be beforehand  
 “ with me in supposing I mean, *whatever has any relation*  
 “ *to Christianity*. The following sheets, perhaps, may  
 “ convince him, that it would not be wrong to add, *any*  
 “ *relation to Christianity, direct or indirect*. The sagacious  
 “ author, scents the despised religion at an immense dis-  
 “ tance, and steadily pursues his game, through the most  
 “ intricate thickets, with unwearied assiduity.” Milner’s  
 Gibbon’s account of Christianity considered. Pref. p. 4.

“design to restore the purity of Roman manners, “he was desirous of delivering the empire from “what he condemned as a recent, and criminal, “superstition. The bishops of the most considerable cities were *removed* by exile or death”—and with regard to Diocletian’s persecution, to soften down matters as much as might be, and give prominence to “the circumstances which “insinuate that the general treatment of the “christians, who had been apprehended by the “officers of justice, was less intolerable than it is “usually imagined to have been.”

Gibbon had been compelled to notice the persecution of the christians by pagans, in his XVI chapter, and, in his LIV, he found and took his revenge. Here was an event in the history of “the prostrate Greeks, who were content to “fast, and pray, and believe, in blind obedience to the patriarch and his clergy”—things requiring no “energy, or exercise of the mental faculties”—which gave him an opportunity of talking of “the two religions of Zoroaster and Christ,” and setting forth the “equal and unrelenting hatred,” with which they both persecuted the innocent Manichæans. No doubt he was “candid” towards those who rejected the Epistles of St. Peter, when it gave him an opportunity of stating, that they were “justified by some of the most respectable of the ancients, and moderns;” and of hinting at “a sham quarrel, a pious fraud,”



between the Apostles. He was candid to those who "overlooked" the Apocalypse, because it enabled him to suggest that, as this was not charged upon them as heresy, the Greek church probably did the same. In short, let any man read this fifty-fourth chapter of Gibbon, and I think he must see that all this talk about the Paulicians, was only intended to introduce an invective against christianity; and that the artful infidel dilated through twenty quarto pages, on a subject which might have been dispatched in one, merely because it gave him an opportunity for sneer, and sarcasm, against the religion, which both the Paulicians, and their persecutors, professed. What had the historian of the ninth century—or even of the whole decline and fall—to do with "the character and consequences of the Reformation"—with Calvin and Servetus—and with the "modern clergy" who subscribe "the forms of orthodoxy, the articles of faith" with "a smile or a sigh?" "The candour of Gibbon is remarkable in this part of his history!" Yes, truly, so remarkable that I wonder Milner did not reject the Grecian gift.

The well-read historian of the Decline and Fall, might afford to say, that the work of Photius had not *fallen into his hands*; but the echo from Milner, is very sad. "Photius and Peter have not fallen into my hands." No, indeed, it seems as if none of the books which a historian of that



period ought to have consulted, had fallen into his hands, except Gibbon, and Mosheim ; and he says, “ by the assistance of the two modern authors, I shall state the few facts which are known, and give as impartial a judgment concerning the sect in question, as I can.”

Well then, with all this remarkable candour, what is the account which Gibbon has given of the Paulicians? He tells us that “ a branch of Manichæans were selected as the victims of spiritual tyranny”—“ their founders rejected the two Epistles of St. Peter”—“ they agreed with their Gnostic brethren in the universal contempt for the Old Testament, the books of Moses, and the prophets, which have been consecrated by the decrees of the Catholic Church”—“ in the practice, or at least in the theory, of the sacraments, the Paulicians were inclined to abolish all visible objects of worship, and the words of the gospel were, in their judgment, the baptism, and communion, of the faithful. They indulged a convenient latitude for the interpretation of Scripture ; and, as often as they were pressed by the literal sense, they could escape to the intricate mazes of figure and allegory. Their utmost diligence must have been employed to dissolve the connexion between the Old and the New Testament, since they adored the latter as the oracles of God, and abhorred the former as

“ the fabulous and absurd invention of men or  
“ dæmons. We cannot be surprised that they  
“ should have found in the Gospel the orthodox  
“ mystery of the Trinity ; but, instead of confess-  
“ ing the human nature and substantial sufferings  
“ of Christ, they amused their fancy with a celes-  
“ tial body that passed through the Virgin, like  
“ water through a pipe ; with a phantastic cruci-  
“ fixation, that eluded the vain and impotent ma-  
“ lice of the Jews. A creed thus *simple* and  
“ *spiritual*, was not adapted to the genius of the  
“ times ; and the rational christian, who might  
“ have been contented with the light yoke and  
“ easy burden of Jesus and his Apostles, was  
“ justly offended that the Paulicians should dare  
“ to violate the unity of God, the first article of  
“ natural and revealed religion. Their belief  
“ and trust was in the Father of Christ, of the  
“ human soul, and of the invisible world. But  
“ they likewise held the eternity of matter ; a  
“ stubborn and rebellious substance, the origin of  
“ a second principle, of an active being, who has  
“ created the visible world, and exercises his  
“ temporal reign till the final consummation of  
“ death and sin.”

Such is the account of the Paulician creed which is given by the remarkably candid historian ; and on what authority did Milner contradict it ? Was it on the authority of his other

professed guide? Certainly not. Mosheim tells us that the Paulicians were "a sect that may be considered as a branch of the Manichæans;" (*secta Manichæis cognata*) and proceeds to give an account, so much like that already quoted, that it is not worth while to tire the reader with what would be little more than repetition. It may be enough to observe, that he says, "they were not *altogether* Manichees (*germani Manichæi*)" "though they embraced some opinions that resembled certain tenets of that abominable sect"—and he afterwards adds, in a note, "it is evident, beyond all contradiction, that the Paulicians, in imitation of the oriental philosophers from whom the Gnostics and Manichæans derived their origin, considered *eternal matter* as the seat and source of all evil; but they believed, at the same time, like many of the Gnostics, that this *matter*, endued from all eternity with life and motion, had produced an active principle, which was the fountain of vice, misery, and disorder. This principle, according to them, is the author of all material substances; while God is the Creator and Father of Spirits. These tenets resemble, no doubt, the Manichæan doctrine; yet they differ from it in several points. It appears most probable, that the Paulicians were extremely numerous and diversified, and which, though persecuted and oppressed from age to age in the most rigorous



“manner, by many emperors, could never be entirely suppressed, nor totally extirpated.”

Milner's objections, for they cannot be called arguments, are really scarcely worth noticing; and it will be more to the purpose to discover, if we can, what induced him to dress up the Paulicians in eminent orthodoxy; and, in defiance

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<sup>3</sup> Cent. ix. P. ii. ch. v. § 6. I quote Maclaine's translation because Milner has said, at p. 373 of this Volume, “As Mosheim's work, translated by Maclaine, is better known than the original in England, I always quote the former, and would be understood, both here and elsewhere, to refer to that rather than to the latter.” It is therefore only fair to him that I should do the same; but that it is not safe, this single note may shew. The translator has taken the liberty to put in, and put out, important matter. Mosheim does not say, that the Paulicians “were extremely numerous,” or at all “diversified;” and he does say, that he was inclined to believe that they were the offspring of the Gnostics. His words (professedly translated above) are “*Affinia hæc sunt Manichæorum dogmati: sed ab eo etiam diversa. Crediderim, hanc sectam sobolem esse unius ex antiquis Gnosticorum familiis: quæ, multis licet Imperatorum legibus et supplicibus misere vexatæ, numquam tamen opprimi et extirpari potuerunt.*” p. 352. It will be obvious to any body who takes the trouble to compare them, that some of Milner's unjust censures of Mosheim, arose from his using the translation, instead of the original. It might be well to refer to the translation in common cases, but when he took upon him to censure Mosheim, he should surely have looked to see whether the translation was correct.



of his two professed guides, (and, I believe, of every other ecclesiastical writer) to discover in them "one of those extraordinary effusions of the "Divine Spirit, by which the knowledge of "Christ, and the practice of godliness, is kept "alive in the world."

How came he to differ so widely from all his predecessors, Greek, Papal, and Protestant—Infidel, and Christian?

I do not wish to be uncharitable to him, or to those of his protestant predecessors to whom the remark may apply, but I cannot help thinking that a circumstance may be noticed which will go far towards explaining the matter. It is this—he *did*, and they *did not*, suppose that the *Pope* was concerned in the persecution of the Paulicians. The discovery that *Rome* had anything to do with the business, was, I believe, reserved for Milner; for I find no hint of it in Mosheim, or Gibbon, or in any other writer whose works I have met with. The fact seems to be, that in writing his chapter on the Paulicians, Milner strayed away from his professed guides, and got hold of a letter of Pope Nicolas which he misunderstood. The Councils, apparently for the first time, fell into his hands, just when he was engaged with a subject on which they could give him no information, and they only led him astray. From this letter, which he found there, he gathered that the Paulicians were

persecuted by the "antichristian tyranny" of Rome. This put the matter in quite a different light. The Paulicians were, in all probability, very excellent people—no doubt all insinuation of heresy was slander—they were reformers, martyrs, confessors, witnesses, *the* witnesses—and it seemed but justice to believe, that their only crime was, that they would not receive the mark of the beast.

This letter of Pope Nicolas, was not unknown to the predecessors of Milner, but they understood it; and I do not say that, if they had misunderstood it as widely as he did, they would have gone as far as he has done in dressing up the Paulicians. Several of them however, would have been under great temptation. Some of those who quietly set down the Paulicians as heretics (such as the Centuriators, F. Spanheim, Venema, and Peter Allix) had as sharp a scent for witnesses, as Matthew Hopkins had for a witch; and if they had not discovered in the Paulicians an "extraordinary effusion of the Divine Spirit," would at least have said what they could for them.

Let us, however, see how far there is any ground for connecting the Pope with the Paulicians. Milner says,

"Theodora was succeeded by her son Michael. Her cruelties and superstitions deserved the applause of Nicolas, who became Pope of Rome in 858. In a letter, he highly



“ approved her conduct, and admired her on account of her  
 “ implicit obedience to the Holy See. We learn from the  
 “ biographer of the Emperor Michael what Theodora had  
 “ done to call forth the encomiums of this pontiff. ‘ She  
 “ resolved,’ says he, ‘ to bring the Paulicians to the true  
 “ faith, or cut them all off root and branch’—a resolution  
 “ worthy of a truly catholic princess !—‘ pursuant to that  
 “ resolution, she sent some noblemen and magistrates,’ not  
 “ preachers or missionaries,—‘ into the different provinces  
 “ of the empire ; and, by them, some of those unhappy  
 “ wretches were crucified, some put to the sword, and  
 “ some thrown into the sea and drowned.’ Thus were they  
 “ slaughtered to the number of one hundred thousand, and  
 “ their goods and estates confiscated.”<sup>4</sup>

“ The pope alluded to this bloody massacre, when he  
 “ commends Theodora in the same letter for the manly  
 “ vigour she exerted, the Lord co-operating (*Domino co-*  
 “ *operante*) as he blasphemously adds, against obstinate  
 “ and incorrigible heretics. Nicolas, at the same time ob-  
 “ serves, that the heretics, experiencing in her all the reso-  
 “ lution and vigour of a man, could scarcely believe her to  
 “ be a woman. Indeed zeal for religion had changed in  
 “ Theodora, as it did in our queen Mary, the tender and  
 “ compassionate heart of a woman into that of a merciless  
 “ and blood-thirsty tyrant. And here I am not disposed  
 “ to suppress, that from the pope’s own words, it appears,  
 “ that *the Apostolic See had its share in the glorious exploit*  
 “ just mentioned ; for the pope, after telling her that the  
 “ heretics dreaded, and at the same admired, her resolution  
 “ and steadiness in maintaining the purity of the catholic  
 “ faith, adds, ‘ *and why so, but because you followed the direc-*  
 “ *tions of the Apostolic See ?*’ ”<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Porphyrog.<sup>5</sup> Concil. Lab. Nic. Ep. XIV.

“ So truly was Antichristian tyranny now established  
“ at Rome.” vol. III. p. 208.

Now suppose we grant the utmost that Milner could desire to prove—that the Paulicians were the special witnesses of God—that Theodora persecuted them—that she did this by direction of the pope—and that, therefore, the pope was Antichrist. Suppose, I say, that for the sake of argument we admit this; will not these things, which prove the pope of Rome to be Antichrist, equally prove the patriarch of Constantinople to be Antichrist?

“ Oh dear, no,” says the reader of Milner, “ what had the patriarch to do with it? His name “ is never once mentioned in the business.” Very true—his name is not mentioned by Milner, but it is mentioned in “ the pope’s own words,” a half sentence of which Milner has unfairly translated. The pope’s “ own words” are “ Cur hoc “ nisi quia Sedis Apostolicæ dogmata sequebaris, “ *et Constantinopolitani monita Pontificis, cui Romana Ecclesia communicabat, amplectebaris?*” I need hardly observe how unfair it is to translate “ dogmata” by “ directions”—but let the *dogmata* of the pope have been what they might, surely they were no worse than the *monita* of the patriarch.

To come, however, to the point. Does this letter of pope Nicolas, to the empress Theodora, relate to the Paulicians *at all*? I believe it does not.



"We learn," says Milner, "from the biography of Michael, what Theodora had done to call forth the encomiums of the pontiff." Why, surely, Milner must have known, that Theodora had done something else, far more likely to call forth the encomiums of the pontiff, than her persecution of the Paulicians, of whom, as far as I know, no pope ever took any notice whatever. He must surely have known, that the great event of her life—that event for which she has been magnified, and extolled, by every papal historian—for which she was placed, and still stands, as a saint in the Greek calendar—was, that following the dogmata, (that is, holding the doctrine) of the Apostolic See, which her husband had renounced, she had restored, and triumphantly established, the worship of images in the eastern church, after the long and fierce struggle, which had rent asunder Rome and Constantinople.

Theophilus (her husband) had been an active adversary of the image worshippers. On his death, their son, Michael III. being a child, the reins of government were assumed by Theodora. She, whether from her own personal attachment to image-worship, or terrified by the threats of the most powerful persons of the court—or, as the pope's letter seems to suggest, following the monita of the patriarch—moved by some, or, perhaps, by all these motives, the fact is unquestionable, that on her coming into power, she set

to work so energetically to put down the Iconoclasts, that the pope might well say that those "heretics, experiencing in her all the resolution, and vigour, of a man, could scarcely believe her to be a woman."<sup>6</sup>

The reader will observe, that the pope speaks of "communicating," or being in communion with, the patriarch, whose monitions the empress had followed; and he had, in fact, (whether we take the word in its ordinary, or in its ecclesiastical sense) "communicated" with Nicephorus, the exiled patriarch, whose *monita*, while he lived, were in strict accordance with the actions of

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<sup>6</sup> In fact her vigour in this business is described in these very terms, by Theophanes, who says, "in pietatis studium curamque maxime incubnit fœmina, vere Dei munere (ut nomen ejus indicat) data ex omnibus præclaris et magnis facinoribus, quibus principes probari solent, nullum præstantius existimans, quo tutius sibi imperium confirmaret, aut virilem in fœminea persona fortitudinem exerceret, quam si pietatis et religionis cultus Deum sibi propitium redderet. Id autem nullo pacto facilius aut commodius posse contingere, quam si perturbationem in Ecclesia jam diu excitatam sedaret," &c. cited Baron. Ann. 842. §. 12. In pursuance of this conviction, she deposed the Iconoclast patriarch John, and put in his place, Methodius. The reader who wishes for more information as to this history, may find it in Gibbon, c. 54; and the authorities which he cites. But a minute, and elaborate, investigation of the points here referred to may be found in Walch's *Historie der Kezereien*. Vol. x. p. 728.



Theodora after his death. He had also communicated with Methodius, whom it was one of the first acts of Theodora to raise to the patriarchal dignity, and who had, in fact, resided for some years at Rome, as the legate, or (whatever may be the exact meaning of the title at this time, and under these circumstances) as the Apocrisiarius of Nicephorus. With *these* the Pope was in ecclesiastical communion, while others were *excommunicated* for opposing the doctrines, or “dogmata, of the Apostolic See,” which they followed; and, with them, he was in what may be called political, or personal, communication, as to the means which should be used to restore image-worship in the east—on *this* subject the Romish See (which, as far as I can find, knew nothing about the Paulicians) was deeply interested, and warmly engaged—in *this* matter Rome gained a signal triumph, when Theodora, “following the dogmata of the Apostolic See,” re-established the worship of images, and showed herself, as Baronius speaks, “*sanctarum imaginum fortissima propugnatrix, potentissima restitutrix, atque tenacissima conservatrix*”<sup>7</sup>

After governing for thirteen years, the empress Theodora was deposed, and shut up in a convent by her brutal son, Michael III. The pope having occasion, eleven years afterwards,

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<sup>7</sup> Ann. 866. §. xix.

to send legates to Constantinople, wrote the letter in question to the empress; and it was one of seven with which his messengers were charged. All these letters relate to the deposition of the patriarch Ignatius, and I do not find, or believe that any unprejudiced reader could find, any allusion to the Paulicians. In fact, I do not know that any body but Milner ever dreamed of such a thing, though these letters could scarcely be unknown to his predecessors, and professed guides, Gibbon and Mosheim; neither of whom would have been under any temptation to suppress the fact, that the church of Rome had instigated a bloody persecution, though they might not have agreed with him in supposing the sufferers to be persons of eminently pure faith.

The reader may, however, like to see what the pope really did say to the empress, and therefore I will translate, as literally as I can, all which can possibly be supposed to be connected with the matter in question.

“ Nicholas, Bishop, Servant of Servants, to the most  
“ beloved daughter of God, Theodora, once an earthly  
“ empress, but now spiritually united to Him who is the  
“ Heavenly Potentate.

“ Accurately and carefully calling to mind your excellencies, endowed with which you have appeared in  
“ these days second to none of the empresses who have  
“ preceded you; and in which, especially in the cause of  
“ religion, you are found inferior to none; we cease not  
“ to offer unbounded thanks to Almighty God by whose



“ gift you have received these things, and to bless His Holy  
“ Name. And we continually set forth, in our converse  
“ with the faithful, the praise of your pious proceedings for  
“ the imitation of the hearers. You, indeed, even in the  
“ lifetime of your husband, who held opinions contrary to  
“ the laws of the church, did not fear to believe what was  
“ sound, and to maintain what was right. You, I say, per-  
“ severing in orthodox religion, instructed your only son  
“ to follow, not the steps of his earthly, but of his heavenly  
“ Father. But who is sufficient to set forth the excellency  
“ of your proceedings, or the brave acts of your reforma-  
“ tions? For when you ruled alone, the Lord co-operating,  
“ you protected the church not only from a visible enemy,  
“ but also, with not less than masculine vigour, from an  
“ invisible enemy, that is from error; and like a sun-beam  
“ drove away the cloud of false doctrine from the face of  
“ the church. The heretics found in you a manly courage;  
“ and astonished at your invincible strength, doubted whe-  
“ ther you were a woman. Why was this but because you  
“ followed the doctrines of the Apostolic See and received  
“ the admonitions of the patriarch of Constantinople with  
“ whom the Romish Church was in communion,” &c.

In the rest of the letter, there is not, I think, a word which the most ingenious, or prejudiced, reader, could twist into a reference to the Paulicians; and it appears to me equally plain, that there is none in that part which I have transcribed.

I must, however, add, that there seems to me to be a manifest absurdity, in supposing that the pope could intend to refer to the Paulicians, or think of selecting such a topic for his letter of congratulation, and consolation, to the cloistered, and, in

fact, imprisoned, empress. If he had written to her some twenty years before, when in the plenitude of her power, she had just sent forth her agents to convert or destroy the heretics—or, if at a later period, he had been chronicling her acts for the menology—some encomium would not have been unnatural ; but to write to her about the Paulicians, when, whether they had once been martyrs or no, they had certainly become rebels—while they were unsubdued, rampant and terrible—when her son, still living, had been defeated, and disgraced, and obliged to fly before their arms—to have written to her of the Paulicians, in such circumstances, would surely have been going out of his way, to refer to a painful topic. Whether at her first interference with the Paulicians, she found them, or made them, rebels—that is, whether she had excited, the fierce and threatening war which then raged, or whether she had only been unable to prevent it—in either case, “the glorious exploit,” as Milner terms it, must have been touched, if necessary, with some delicacy ; and not by the broad mockery of telling her that the terrified heretics were “astonished at her invincible strength,” and that, like a sunbeam, she had chased away the cloud from the church.

Thus far of the Paulicians, as to their claim to be considered as the witnesses of God against Antichrist ; and of the supposed interference of

the pope, in the persecution which they suffered. I proceed now to enquire whether the Albigenses of Lombardy, and the south of France, were not (as some writers have supposed) their descendants ; and, with this view, I have stated the doctrine of the Paulicians more fully than might have been necessary, either to remove the false colouring of Milner, or the absurd attempt to set them up as witnesses against the papacy. This statement of their doctrine, I wish the reader to keep in mind, and to compare, with what will be hereafter laid before him.

## SECTION IV.

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### THE ORIGIN OF THE ALBIGENSES.

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“ I CANNOT,” says Mr. Milner, in reference to Gibbon’s account of the Paulicians, “ follow the learned author, to whom I owe much for this account, in his conjectures concerning this people’s dispersion through the European provinces. Nor does there seem any good evidence of the Waldenses owing their origin to the Paulicians. Such speculations are too doubtful to satisfy the minds of those, who prefer the solid evidence of facts to the conjectural ebullitions of a warm imagination.”

Milner does not appear to have considered, that what, if he had stated it, must have proceeded from a warm imagination, might, in Gibbon’s case, be the offspring of learning, and sound judgment ; because Gibbon was familiarly acquainted with facts, respecting which it would be too much to say, that Milner was even imperfectly



informed. However, having dismissed one of his guides with this flippant remark, and said not a word of the other, who maintained the same opinion, Milner seems to think it only necessary to add his belief, that there is no proof that the *Waldenses* were descended from the Paulicians.

Now, this was not asserted by either of his guides, both of whom understood the matter somewhat better than he did; and, certainly, it is not my intention to maintain it. I do not believe that the *Waldenses* were so descended; but it seems to me quite impossible, for any man who reads merely what is advanced by Gibbon, and Mosheim, to doubt that the sect, popularly called *Albigenses*, were descendants of the Paulicians; and, like them, (that is to the same, or about the same, extent—for there is no use in quibbling about words) *Manicheans*.

The works of both Gibbon, and Mosheim, are probably accessible to most readers; but, as I am afraid that very few would turn to them, if I were merely to refer; and, as the extracts need not be very long, and are, I think, very much to the purpose, I shall lay them before the reader. Gibbon's "speculations," as Milner is pleased to call them, are as follow:—

"About the middle of the eighth century, Constantine, surnamed Copronymus by the worshippers of images, had made an expedition into Armenia, and found, in the cities of Melitene and Theodosiopolis, a great number of Pauli-

“ cians, his kindred heretics. As a favour or punishment,  
“ he transplanted them from the banks of the Euphrates to  
“ Constantinople and Thrace; and by this emigration,  
“ their doctrine was introduced and diffused in Europe.  
“ If the sectaries of the metropolis were soon mingled  
“ with the promiscuous mass, those of the country struck  
“ a deep root in a foreign soil. The Paulicians of Thrace  
“ resisted the storms of persecution, maintained a secret  
“ correspondence with their Armenian brethren, and gave  
“ aid and comfort to their preachers, who solicited, not  
“ without success, the infant faith of the Bulgarians.

“ In the tenth century they were restored and multiplied by a more powerful colony, which John Zimisces transported from the Chalybian hills to the vallies of Mount Hæmus. The oriental clergy, who would have preferred the destruction, impatiently sighed for the absence, of the Manichæans: the warlike emperor had felt and esteemed their valour; their attachment to the Saracens was pregnant with mischief; but, on the side of the Danube, against the Barbarians of Scythia, their service might be useful, and their loss would be desirable. Their exile in a distant land was softened by a free toleration: the Paulicians held the city of Philippopolis and the keys of Thrace; the catholics were their subjects; the Jacobite emigrants their associates: they occupied a line of villages and castles in Macedonia and Epirus; and many native Bulgarians were associated to the communion of arms and heresy. As long as they were awed by power, and treated with moderation, their voluntary bands were distinguished in the armies of the empire; and the courage of these *dogs*, ever greedy of war, ever thirsty of human blood, is noticed with astonishment, and almost with reproach, by the pusillanimous Greeks. The same spirit rendered them arrogant and contumacious: they were easily provoked by caprice or injury; and

“ their privileges were often violated by the faithless  
“ bigotry of the government and clergy.

“ In the midst of the Norman war, two thousand five  
“ hundred Manichæans deserted the standard of Alexius  
“ Comnenus, and retired to their native homes. He dis-  
“ sembled till the moment of revenge; invited the chiefs  
“ to a friendly conference, and punished the innocent and  
“ guilty by imprisonment, confiscation, and baptism. In  
“ an interval of peace, the emperor undertook the pious  
“ office of reconciling them to the church and state: his  
“ winter quarters were fixed at Philippopolis; and the thir-  
“ teenth apostle, as he is styled by his pious daughter,  
“ consumed whole days and nights in theological contro-  
“ versy. His arguments were fortified, their obstinacy  
“ was melted, by the honours and rewards which he be-  
“ stowed on the most eminent proselytes; and a new city,  
“ surrounded with gardens, enriched with immunities,  
“ and dignified with his own name, was founded by  
“ Alexius, for the residence of his vulgar converts. The  
“ important station of Philippopolis was wrested from  
“ their hands; the contumacious leaders were secured in  
“ a dungeon, or banished from their country; and their  
“ lives were spared by the prudence, rather than the mer-  
“ cy, of an emperor, at whose command a poor and soli-  
“ tary heretic was burnt alive before the church of St.  
“ Sophia. But the proud hope of eradicating the preju-  
“ dices of a nation was speedily overturned by the invinc-  
“ ible zeal of the Paulicians, who ceased to dissemble  
“ or refused to obey. After the departure and death of  
“ Alexius, they soon resumed their civil and religious  
“ laws.

“ In the beginning of the thirteenth century, their  
“ pope, or primate (a manifest corruption) resided on  
“ the confines of Bulgaria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, and  
“ governed, by his vicars, the filial congregations of Italy

“ and France. From that æra, a minute scrutiny might  
“ prolong and perpetuate the chain of tradition. At the  
“ end of the last age, the sect or colony still inhabited the  
“ vallies of mount Hæmus, where their ignorance and  
“ poverty were more frequently tormented by the Greek  
“ clergy than by the Turkish government. The modern  
“ Paulicians have lost all memory of their origin; and  
“ their religion is disgraced by the worship of the cross,  
“ and the practice of bloody sacrifice, which some captives  
“ have imported from the wilds of Tartary.

“ In the west, the first teachers of the Manichæan  
“ theology had been repulsed by the people, or suppressed  
“ by the prince. The favour and success of the Paulicians  
“ in the eleventh and twelfth centuries must be imputed  
“ to the strong, though secret, discontent which armed the  
“ most pious Christians against the church of Rome. Her  
“ avarice was oppressive, her despotism odious: less de-  
“ generate perhaps than the Greeks, in the worship of  
“ saints and images, her innovations were more rapid and  
“ scandalous: she had rigorously defined and imposed the  
“ doctrine of transubstantiation: the lives of the latin clergy  
“ were more corrupt, and the eastern bishops might pass  
“ for the successors of the apostles, if they were compared  
“ with the lordly prelates, who wielded by turns the crosier,  
“ the sceptre, and the sword.

“ Three different roads might introduce the Pauli-  
“ cians into the heart of Europe. After the conversion  
“ of Hungary, the pilgrims who visited Jerusalem, might  
“ safely follow the course of the Danube: in their jour-  
“ ney and return they passed through Philippopolis; and  
“ thes ectaries, disguising their name and heresy, might  
“ accompany the French or German caravans to their  
“ respective countries. The trade and dominion of Venice  
“ pervaded the coast of the Adriatic, and the hospitable



“republic opened her bosom to foreigners of every climate  
“and religion. Under the Byzantine standard, the Pau-  
“licians were often transported to the Greek provinces of  
“Italy and Sicily ; in peace and war they freely conversed  
“with strangers and natives, and their opinions were  
“silently propagated in Rome, Milan, and the kingdoms  
“beyond the Alps. It was soon discovered, that many  
“thousand catholics of every rank, and of either sex, had  
“embraced the Manichæan heresy ; and the flames which  
“consumed twelve canons of Orleans, was the first act  
“and signal of persecution.” Ch. LIV. vol. v. p. 530.

Mosheim, after reciting some of the historical facts, which have been already given in the words of Gibbon, says—

“Many of the Paulicians, either from a principle of  
“zeal for the propagation of their opinions, or from a  
“desire of getting rid of the persecution and oppression  
“they suffered under the Grecian yoke, retired from Bul-  
“garia and Thrace, and formed settlements in other  
“countries. Their first migration was into Italy ; from  
“whence, in process of time, they sent colonies into  
“almost all the other provinces of Europe, and formed  
“gradually a considerable number of religious assemblies  
“who had adhered to their doctrine, and who were after-  
“wards persecuted with the utmost vehemence by the  
“Roman pontiffs. It is difficult to fix the precise period of  
“time when the Paulicians began to take refuge in Europe ;  
“it is, however, undoubtedly certain, from the most au-  
“thentic testimonies, that a considerable number of that  
“sect were, about the middle of this century, settled in  
“Lombardy, Insubria, and principally at Milan ; and  
“that many of them led a wandering life in France, Ger-  
“many, and other countries, where they captivated the

“ esteem and admiration of the multitude, by their sanctimonious looks and the uncommon air of piety, which they put on with much affectation.”<sup>1</sup> Cent. xi. P. ii. ch. v. §. 2.

On this he adds the following note :

“ See Lud. Ant. Muratori, *Antiquitat. Ital. medii ævi.* Tom. v. p. 83. Limborch. *Historia Inquisitionis*, p. 31. Thom. Aug. Richinii *Dissertatio de Catharis*, which is prefixed to the *Summa B. Monetæ contra Catharos* p. 17, 18. We might also refer upon this occasion, to Glab. Rodolph. *Histor. Lib. iii. c. viii.* To Matth. Paris and other ancient writers. Certain Italian authors, and among others Richini, seem unwilling to acknowledge, that the Paulicians arrived first in Italy, and proceeded from thence into the other provinces of Europe ; and maintain, on the contrary, that their first settlement was in France, and that from thence they came into Italy. These writers look upon it as ignominious to their country, to be considered as the first European nation which fostered such a pernicious and impious sect in its bosom. Be that as it may, their hypothesis is favoured by Petr. de Marca himself a Frenchman, who in his *Histoire de Bearn*, Livr. viii. cap. xiv. p. 728, declares it as his opinion, that the Paulicians joined themselves to the Gallic armies that returned from the Holy War in Palestine, by the Province of Bulgaria, and were thus conducted into France. But that learned author alleges no proof to support this opinion : it appears on the contrary from the records of

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<sup>1</sup> So MacLaine is pleased to translate Mosheim's words, “ non paucos de plebe magnæ pietatis, quam præ se ferebant, specie cepisse.” A most lamentable thing it is, that if, to the disgrace of our church, and our country, the English reader is to have nothing that can be called a church history but Mosheim's, there should not be a better translation.

“ the Inquisition of Thoulouse, published by Limborch, “ and from other authentic pieces, that the Paulicians settled first in Sicily, Lombardy, Liguria, and the Milanese, “ and sent from thence their doctors and missionaries into “ France. See the Codex Tolosanus, p. 13, 14, 32, 68, “ 69 and passim. We learn also from the Code of Thoulouse, that the French Paulicians who were called Albigenses, had no bishop to consecrate their *Anciani* (such “ was the title they gave to their presbyters), so that such “ of them as were desirous of being placed in the order of “ presbyters, were obliged to repair to Italy, in order to “ their being regularly installed.”

That the Albigenses, whether justly or not, were called *Manicheans*, and that they were said to hold the same doctrines which were charged upon the *Paulicians*, is not disputed. Now I cannot find, before that burning of the canons of Orleans, which is referred to by Gibbon, and which is said to have taken place in A.D. 1017, or A.D. 1022, any instance of any person having been charged with Manicheism, or any notice of the existence of that heresy in Europe, for more than four hundred years. Whether these canons of Orleans really were Manicheans has been doubted; and perhaps the same doubt may extend to the persons condemned by the Council of Charroux, in 1028 or 1031, of whose faith we have no account but Ademar's assertion that they were Manicheans—by the council of Rheims, in 1049, where they are only characterised as “ the new heretics which had arisen in France”—and



by the council of Thoulouse, in 1056, where there is no specification of the nature of the heretics against whom its thirteenth canon is pointed.

It is a matter of little consequence to the argument; but, as to the fact, I think we may doubt whether these persons were of the same sect as those who were afterwards called Albigenses. Be this, however, as it may; I do not, from the time which I have mentioned, until the Council of Thoulouse, in 1119, (a period of sixty-three years) meet with any notice of Manicheans, or any thing which seems as if it could relate to *such* heretics as we are in search of. There, however, the 3rd canon, though it gives no *name* to the heretics, is too express to be mistaken—  
“Moreover we condemn, and expel from the  
“church of God, as heretics, those who, putting  
“on the appearance of religion, condemn the  
“sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord,  
“the baptism of children, the priesthood and  
“other ecclesiastical orders, and the bonds of  
“lawful marriage.”

The reader will observe that hitherto the heretics have never been called by any particular name, in the acts of any Council; and the first heretics to whom I find any distinctive appellation applied, are those who were condemned in the Council of Oxford, in 1160. The account given of their opinions, by a contemporary historian, sufficiently identifies them as belonging to those



who were charged with Manichean heresy; and this writer tells us that they were Germans, and were believed to belong to those who were commonly called **PUBLICANS**; who, having taken their rise in Gascony, from some unknown author, had multiplied, like the sand of the sea, in France, Spain, Italy, and Germany. It is not surprising that the English monk should not know the origin of the name which he quoted; but I think no reader to whom it is once suggested, can doubt that it is a corruption of *Pauliciani*, or, more properly speaking, a western pronunciation of *Παυλικιανοί*, and that these *Publicans*, were the same as the *Publicans* whom the Crusaders met with in the east.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>“ **POPULICANI, Publicani, Publicani.** Hæretici Manichæorum sectarii, qui Grecis *Παυλικιανοί* Latinis scriptoribus *Pauliciani*: sic appellati a Paulo Samosateno hæresis autore, sive a Paulo et Joanne, ut observatum a nobis ad Alexiadem p. 412 *Poplicani* lib. 4. Hist. Vezeliac. p. 644. qui *Pauliani* apud Liberatum Diacon. cap. 2 et autorem Prædestinati. Ita porro appellarunt nostri Manichæos qui Franciam nostram aliquandiu erroribus suis inquinarent, maxime in Aurelianensi provincia, Roberto Rege regnante, de quibus Gesta Synodi Aurelianensis an. 1017 edita to. 2. Spicilegii Acheriani et excerpta ex Tabulario S. Petri Carnot. edita a Labeo to. 2. Miscellan. p. 562. Hacce postea appellatione Valdenses hæreticos donarunt, quod quædam ex dogmate Manichæi quædam ex erroribus Origenis, plurima etiam de suo confinxissent, ut est in Magno Chronico Belgico an. 1208 quod scili-

It is not worth while to endeavour to trace these Publicans at present; and of the names, borne by the Albigenses and Waldenses, I shall hereafter have occasion to speak. In the mean time, I must remind the reader that my object is, to shew that the persons called Albigenses, in the south of France, were Paulician emigrants; and I think we have seen, that they did in fact appear at a *time*, and bring with them a *name*, which strongly countenances the idea. There is a third point, however, more important, and which, coupled with the other two, seems to

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“cet duo principia, ut Manichæi, agnoscerent, ut est apud  
 “Ermengardum contra Valdenses cap. 2. Vide Concilium  
 “Lateranense III. an. 1179, c. 27. *Populicanorum* crebra  
 “est mentio apud Albericum in Chron. MS. an. 1148. In  
 “Chronico Vezeliacensi ap. Labeum to. I. Bibl. an. 1167,  
 “1181 et 1198. In Chron. S. Mariani <sup>And</sup>isiod. an. 1181  
 “et 1198. in M. Chron. Belg. an. 1147 et 1197. ex eodem  
 “Alberico, ut et apud alios scriptores quos laudamus  
 “in notis ad Villharduinum pag. 342 ubi etiam de *Publi-*  
 “*canis* quorum meminere iidem scriptores.” Du Cange  
 in v. where he also adds, “*Publicanorum etiam crebra est*  
 “*mentio apud scriptores expeditionum Hierosolymitanarum,*  
 “*a quibus inter gentes, quæ Saracenis ac Persis erant con-*  
 “*minæ, recensentur: qua voce intelliguntur Manichæi, qui in*  
 “*hisce provinciis habitabant:* de quibus Cedrenus p. 541,  
 “542, 546, 665. Vide Tudebodum p. 782, 792, 794, 814.  
 “Robertum Monachum p. 42, 44, 56, 109, 111. Baldri-  
 “cum Dolensem p. 111. Henricum Huntindon. lib. 7. p.  
 “374. &c.”

me to be decisive ; and to furnish all the proof of identity that can be imagined. This is their *doctrine* ; and to this point I shall request the reader's attention, begging him to keep in mind what has been already stated of the doctrine of the Paulicians, by those whom Milner professed to adopt as his guides ; and to compare it with what will be laid before him, respecting the doctrine of the Albigenses.

## SECTION V.

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### ON THE NAMES, ALBIGENSES AND WALDENSES.

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BEFORE we proceed to enquire into the doctrine of the Albigenses, and Waldenses, it may be worth while to offer a few remarks on these *names* ; because they have been brought into the argument, and have contributed not a little to perplex the matter.

This has been done in the first place, under colour of the lax, and ambiguous, use of the name *Albigenses* ; and some have argued for the identity of the Albigenses, and Waldenses, from the fact that *Waldenses* were, by some early writers, classed as a part of the *Albigenses* ; and that, by some late writers, the *Albigenses* have been called *Waldenses*.

All this, however, admits of an easy solution. The confusion arises very much from our popular use of the words, each of which is with us the denomination of a *religious sect* ; and, therefore, if



they are equivalent, they, of course, indicate one and the same sect. But this use of words has not the sanction of antiquity. "It may be proper to remark," says Mr. Faber, "that those whom we now call Albigenses, did not receive that name until after the session of the Council of Albi." p. 61. This has been stated by many writers; but I doubt whether any *religious sect*, was, *as such*, known by the name of *Albigenses*, until long after the council of Albi; and, I apprehend, the truth to be this—namely, that, somehow or other, heresy prevailed in the country round about Albi, called Albigesium, in the twelfth century—we are not now enquiring when or how it got there; but there it was, and, for the most part, it was, I believe, uniform; and though with some shades of diversity, yet generally what may be termed (if we use the word with the latitude which I have claimed) *Manichean*, or such as we have seen attributed to the Paulicians—that matters went on thus, until some of the followers of Peter Waldo came as missionaries or fugitives, from Lyons to the south of France—that these *Waldenses* were not numerous in comparison of the native heretics, and did not unite with them in any way, except so far as to settle in the country which they inhabited—that the children of these settlers were, strictly speaking, both Albigenses and Wal-

denses; the one by nation and the other by sect—that, in the indiscriminate attack made by the Crusaders against heresy, these Albigenses (by birth) who were Waldenses (by communion) were confounded with the rest; and considered as a part of the great body of heretics or enemies of the Romish Church, who all went under the name of *Albigenses*—a name which was in its national sense applicable to all. I repeat, however, that this name was not used, as far as I can find, as a discriminating title of a *religious sect* until long after the Council of Albi. I believe that I speak much within compass, and state only what may be fairly inferred from evidence which will be adduced, when I say, that the name of Albigenses was not given to those heretics whom we now describe by that title, until more than a century after the Albigensian Crusades.

The followers of Waldo, who settled in the south of France, were called *Waldenses*, and by various other names; but I believe that those whom we now term *Albigenses*, and who formed the great bulk of the heretical population of Provence, and Lombardy, were generally (except when it was thought necessary in any edict, or anathema, to set down a long string of names, in order to be sure of including all sorts of heretics) called in decrees of councils, writings of historians, and acts of the inquisition, simply “the



heretics." I hope to give sufficient proof of this ; and with this explanation I shall, for the sake of brevity and distinction, use the word Albigenses in its popular sense, to signify those who were, in such documents as I have specified, called "the heretics," as distinguished from Waldenses, and other heretics designated by proper names. To avoid circumlocution, I shall also ask for the same indulgence which Limborch felt it necessary to claim, if I sometimes (as indeed I have once or twice done already) use the terms "heretic," and "heresy," without meaning to assert that the person, or doctrine, in question was really heretical ; but only to designate the person, or doctrine, treated as such, in any particular transaction by the Church of Rome.

A second ground of confusion has been found in attempts (sometimes not very happy ones) at etymology. This indeed applies only to the Waldenses ; for, whatever other difficulties we may find in treating of the Albigenses, we cannot doubt the origin of their name. As to the other sect, however, Mr. Faber goes so far as to say that they did not dream of having received their name from Peter Waldo ; and he, and some other writers, endeavour, by calling them *Vallenses*, to connect them with a church which is supposed to have existed in the *Vallies* of Piedmont.

To this however, I think there are three objections—

I. If the name was originally *Vallensis*, how did the *d* get in? What was the motive or meaning of those who inserted it? As far as I can see it must have been to convert a word which is assumed to have had a plain, and obvious, meaning, into a word having no meaning at all. I have never seen any reason assigned for such a proceeding, and cannot conceive of any. I can imagine that *Valdensis* might have been softened into *Vallensis* (though I do not believe it ever was; for every ancient writer whose works I have seen has preserved the *d*) but how are we to account for such a change as that of *Vallensis* into *Valdensis*?

Mr Faber, indeed, in a passage to which I have alluded, says, "So little did the old *Vallenses* dream of having received their name from this holy man, that at least as early as the year 1212, they themselves derived it in point of etymology from the word *Vallis*. The appellation indeed they spiritualized, if I may use the expression, for according to the testimony of Ebrard of Bethune, who wrote in that year,<sup>1</sup> they called

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<sup>1</sup> I wish that Mr. Faber had given some authority for this assertion. I know that other writers have affirmed, as dogmatically as himself, that Ebrardus wrote in 1212; but I can find no sufficient ground for their statement, or, indeed, for fixing the date of this writer at all. The only reason which I have seen assigned for supposing that Ebrardus wrote in 1212 is, that there was an Ebrardus of



“ themselves *Vallenses*, because they abode in the  
 “ valley of tears ; ‘ *Vallenses se appellant eo quod*  
 “ *in valle lachrymarum maneant*’ Ebrard. Bath.  
 “ *Antihær. c. xxv.* ; but still they derived their  
 “ title not from the name of Peter of Lyons, who  
 “ had been dead only about twenty years, but  
 “ from the word *Vallis*, or *Valley*.” p. 25.

This is really another instance of what I have already had such frequent occasion to expose—the picking out a few words from an author, and making him, for want of his context, say what he never meant. The reader, of course, under-

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Bethune, who wrote a book entitled *Græcismus*. The date of this writer is uncertain—at least it has been disputed—and I believe, the only authority on the point is a distich which has been considered ambiguous. According to Du Cange (*præf. p. 37.*) it has been thus given by Anthonius Sanderus, and Valerius Andreas ; and is as follows

Anno Milleno centeno bis duodeno

Condedit Ebrardus *Græcismum* Bethuniensis.

It is necessary, therefore, for Mr. Faber's position to assume—first, that Ebrard who wrote against the Waldenses was the same person as the author of the *Græcismus* ; though I do not see why so considerable a place might not furnish two writers, in two different ages, on subjects totally different, and only resembling each other in bearing the very common name of Ebrard, or Everhard. Secondly, that *bis* refers to *centeno*, and not to *duodeno* ; for otherwise instead of 1212, we get the year 1124 ; which, in fact, I suppose that the writer meant to indicate. There is, however, another reason why I doubt whether the writer against the Waldenses, was the author of the *Græcismus*—

stands, from the foregoing statement, that "the old Vallenses," in general, and as a body, called themselves *Vallenses*; and that neither they, nor Ebrardus, thought of putting in a *d*, or knew of any such name as *Waldenses*. Now, in fact, Ebrardus does himself call them *Waldenses*, when speaking of the body generally; and, as to the passage referred to, I believe the truth is simply this—having concluded his twenty-fourth chapter, which is a defence of the spiritual interpretation of scripture, with a rambling allusion to christians being denominated the *salt* of the

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This latter work seems to have attained some celebrity; and Henricus de Gandavo (who was not born till sometime after 1212) calls it *librum grammaticis non ignotum* (in cat. scrip. eccles. c. 60.—cited Fab. Bib. Gr. vol. vii. Lib. v. c. 7. p. 60.) Now I grant that the writer against the Waldenses does once, or twice, refer to the text of the Greek Testament; but, though free of quotations from Bede, Leo, Rabanus Maurus, &c.—and the (then) less known writers, Cato, Horace, Virgil, Ovid, Persius and Claudian—though, in short, evidently a man of unusual reading in Latin (if he belonged to the beginning of the thirteenth century) he only mentions, I believe two Greek books, Aristotle and the Sibylline Oracles, which were doubtless Latin books to him; and in that language he quotes them, without hinting that they existed in any other. But, waiving all this, will the reader believe that the following sentence was written by the author of a respected work on the Greek language? "*Quid enim hæresis nisi dubitatio, ab hæreo hæresis dicta? In hoc enim quod dubitatis hæretici estis.*" Bib. Pat. Tom. iv. P. 1. col. 1135.



earth, he gets away to David's slaying the Edomites, in the *vallies* of *salt*; and this seems to have reminded him of these *Vallenses*, who, as far as I know, had not been mentioned before, and are not mentioned afterwards. To them he devotes his twenty-fifth chapter; and does not return again to the Waldenses, but the whole remainder of his work consists of a general list or catalogue of heretics, chiefly taken from Isidore—a disputation against the Jews—and a list of eighty-six questions, framed principally on apparent discrepancies in the scriptures, for the purpose of puzzling heretics. This twenty-fifth chapter he begins by saying, “Some, however, who call themselves *Vallenses*, because they so-  
 “journ in a *valley* of tears, having the apostles in  
 “derision: and also they choose to be called *Xabatenses*, from *Xabatata*,<sup>2</sup> rather than *Christians*  
 “from *Christ* ;” and it will be obvious, I think,

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<sup>2</sup> There seems to be something omitted; but I will give the passage as it stands with its context, which is evidently corrupt; “Nos ergo, quibus dictum est ‘Vos estis *sal terræ* ;’ in nobis salitis *sal* intelligamus, et sub lingua.  
 “Intueamur David, qui percussit Edom, id est terrenum,  
 “et XII. in *Valle Salinarum*. David enim XII. percussit,  
 “id est, duodecim prædicationibus Apostolorum auditis,  
 “in *Valle Salinarum*, id est, in Scriptura verborum bene  
 “salita, perfectus esse promeretur. Sic enim cum ipso  
 “David Sobal evertemus, id est, vanam vetustatem; Syriam,  
 “id est, sublimes: et convertemus Joab, quod interpre-

to every one who reads this chapter, that the persons referred to in it were not supposed by the author to be the same as those against whom the twenty-four preceding chapters had been levelled. On this point, it may be, perhaps, sufficient to say, that he charges the former class with a sordid love of gain, and with unceasing toil after riches; while he describes the latter, as given up to sloth, and living in idle mendicity;—he occupies a whole chapter in proving to the former the lawfulness of eating meat; and reproaches the latter, with running to feasts, “like flies to a honeycomb.”<sup>3</sup> I shall have occasion hereafter to refer

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“tatur inimicus. Serviamus ergo in novitate spiritus, non in vetustate literæ, ut ait Paulus ad Romanos.

*Contra eos, qui dicuntur Xabatati.*

CAP. XXV.

“Quidam autem qui *Vallenses* se appellant eo quod in *Valle* lachrymarum maneant, apostolos habentes in derisum: et etiam *Xabatateses*, a *Xabatata* potius quam *Christiani* a *Christo* se volunt appellari.” ubi supra col. 1167.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xx. is entitled “Quod gloriari non debent in jejuniis: et licitum sit *carnes comedere*,” and he therein says, “O parce viventes putatisne a carnalibus desideriis (vos) abstinere, quia carnes non comeditis?” To the Vallenses he says, in ch. xxv. “Vos autem libentius ad domum comestionis acceditis, quam ad domum jejunii, cum Ecclesiastes dicat; ‘Melius est ire ad domum luctus,’ &c. Vos autem ad convivia curritis, tanquam muscæ ad favum mellis.” In ch. xxii. he says of the heretics, “Omiserunt enim ludicra, sed non lucra: abjecerunt otia



to Ebrardus, and to shew that he knew very little of the sects, whom, like some other writers, he confounded together, and called by the general name of Waldenses. In the mean time, the point to be observed is, that he did, in fact, use the name of *Waldenses*; and that whoever these persons were who called themselves *Vallenses*, Ebrardus considered them as distinct from the Waldenses; and that, therefore, his testimony does not support Mr. Faber's broad dogmatical assertion, which even if it had the sanction of a score of such writers as Ebrardus, might be shewn to be erroneous. To say the truth, however, I believe that by these persons who called themselves *Vallenses*, Ebrardus did, in fact, mean *Waldenses*, some individuals of whom had probably thus quibbled on the name of their sect; and,

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“sed non negotia. Si pauper enim fueris, et mendicus,  
 “moram cum illis facias, statim exies opulentus, quippe  
 “a diluculo ad crepusculum in mundanis operosi mercaturis,  
 “manus non permittant otiari.” On the other hand, he says  
 “of the Vallenses, “Sedent enim tota die ante solem. Hora  
 “autem cœnæ, per plateas se exponunt. De quibus ait Paulus  
 “ad Thessalonicenses, ‘Audimus enim inter vos quosdam  
 “ambulare inquiete nihil operantes, &c.... Paulus autem  
 “eos otiari non jubet, dicens ad Ephesios, “magis autem  
 “laboret operando manibus suis quod bonum est;” ’ and,  
 after quoting many of the proverbs against idleness, he  
 says, “Omnia ista vobis objiciuntur a Salom. O Vallenses.  
 Vos enim neque colligitis ut formicæ,” &c.

perhaps, with good reason, by the time when Ebrardus wrote ; though why the vallies of Piedmont should have been called " the valley of tears," till long after the time of Peter Waldo, I do not see. I think, however, it will appear to any one who takes the trouble to read the work of Ebrardus, that by these *Vallenses*, he meant some *Waldenses*, and that by Waldenses he meant Albigenses, and that he knew very little about either.<sup>4</sup>

II. Though when the word *Waldensis* or *aldensis* ~~*Vallensis*~~ had once come into existence, it might be readily quibbled into Vallensis, (especially in an age when no word was safe) yet I do not think that if the people of the middle ages, had wished to indicate that Peter of Lyons, or anybody else, had been born, or had lived in a *valley*, they would have thought of calling him *Vallensis*.

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<sup>4</sup> I believe that no other writer can be found who has spoken of Vallenses at all. Bernard, Abbot of Fontcaud (of whom I shall have occasion hereafter to speak—and who does appear to have known something of the Waldenses) while he indulged his fancy, and played upon this very word *vallis*, did not venture to get rid of the *d* ; which he seems to have considered as an integral part of the word—" quodam præsagio futurorum sortiti vocabulum, " dicti sunt *Valdenses* ; nimirum a *Valle densa* ; eo quod " *profundis et densis errorum tenebris involvantur.*" Bib. Pat. Tom. iv. P. 1. col. 1195.

It was indeed likely enough that, if such had been his birth-place, or his residence, he should have derived a surname from it; but, I think, we should then have found him called *de Valle*, or *de Vallibus*, as, in fact, plenty of other people were named.<sup>5</sup>

III. It seems to me, that if his contemporaries had meant to express, that Peter of Lyons came from, or had to do with, a *valley* or *vallies*, they would have called him, as they did other people, *de Valle*, or *de Vallibus*; but that they would not have considered the word *Vallensis* as conveying that meaning at all. It may sound well to modern ears, to say, "*Vallensis* from *Vallis*;"<sup>6</sup> and the etymology may seem easy and natural, but I verily believe, that if Peter of Lyons had been called *Vallensis*, during his life-

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<sup>5</sup> If the reader will only turn over Dugdale's *Monasticon*, he will find Michael de Valle, Gilbert de Valle, Beatrix de Valle, Sefredus de Valle, Oliver de Vallibus, Richard de Vallibus, Robert de Vallibus, Ethardus de Vallibus, John de Vallibus, Roger de Vallibus, William de Vallibus, Eustace de Vallibus, Godard de Vallibus, Rudolph de Vallibus—in short, names enough from *Val*, and *Faux*, to satisfy him how commonly names were derived from this source, and in what manner they were formed.

<sup>6</sup> Or, as Spanheim, "*a voce Italica *Valdensi*, quae *Vallenses*, habitantes in *convallibus*."* *Hist. Chr. Sæc. XII. c. vi. §. 1.*



time, nobody would have understood it to mean anything but that he was a Welshman—that is, a native of Wallia or Vallia. In fact, we had a Bishop of St. David's, within a century of the time of Peter Waldo, who received the surname of *Wallensis* on that very account.<sup>7</sup> By *Vallensis*, then, I think, a Frenchman (who would certainly get rid of the *W*, though he might probably have preferred changing it into *Gu*, and writing *Gualensis*) would have understood nothing but a native of Wales; and, at all events, would never have thought of its being given to any set of persons, in order to signify that they were inhabitants of vallies.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> “Magister Thomas cognomento *Wallensis* eo quod in Wallia fuit oriundus.” See Richardson's Godwin, p. 580.

<sup>8</sup> Buchanan, speaking of Wales, which he calls *Vallia*, says, “Id ejus nomen, qui ad Germanici sermonis sonum “propius accedunt, per *W*, propriam unis Germanis literam, efferunt, quam literam reliqui vicini qui utuntur sermone prisco, nullo modo pronunciare possunt. Imo ne tormentis quidem a Kernicovallo, Hiberno, aut prisco Scoto, exprimes, ut eam proferat. Gallis vero qui *Valliam* nominare volunt, *G* semper prima est litera. Nec “in hoc nomine solo id observare licet,” &c. This may be true, especially as to the time when Buchanan wrote; but instances of the interchanged *V* and *W* in earlier periods are plentiful; and in fact the question here is, not whether such a word as *Vallenses* was likely to be made (which I believe it was not) but, what would have been understood by it, if it had been made. Would not every



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I have supposed the *Fallenses* to be the same persons as  
am of Malmesbury (p. 89, b.) and Henry of Hun-  
don (p. 217. b. 42.) called *Wallenses*, *Walenses* and  
*alenses*?

In A.D. 739, WALDO, Abbot of St. Maximin, at Treves.<sup>9</sup>

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These instances may be sufficient to shew that there was nothing very uncommon, in a man's being named Waldo.<sup>18</sup> Those who could not manage a W, spelt it *Vualdo*, or *Gualdo*, or, by a change common in those days, might make it *Walto*; and one of these names, or perhaps all of them, according to the fancy of those who wrote it, seems to have been borne by this citizen of Lyons, whose zeal for true religion, and against the superstitions of the times, brought upon him,

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<sup>18</sup> Beside these I have seen *Walda*, as the name of both a man and a woman. *Walda*, wife of the Viscount Ratburn, 941 (Mab. ubi sup. Sæc. v. 315); and a noble matron named *Walda* (Ib. Sæc. 11. 1035). *Fulco Walda* is mentioned as a witness to a charter of William the Conqueror (Dug. Mon. i. 553). In fact, names formed, or compounded, from *Wald* are plentiful; and perhaps there is no word more likely to have furnished them. *Waldum*, *Waldus*, *Walda*, *Waldora*, *Gualdus*, *Gaudus*, almost bring us both to the German word *Wald*, and its English equivalent *Wood*, of which they were all representatives in the middle ages. Perhaps, indeed, there is no word which may be said to be more thoroughly German, (if one may so speak) or more suited from its derivatives and compounds, and its multiplied connexions and associations with the country, the laws, the habits, the history and the poetry of the nation, to stand as the representative of the German language. If the reader refers to Heinsius's German Dictionary, he will find more than three hundred words derived, or compounded, from *Wald*. A close parallel to the case of *Waldum* may be found in *Wantu*<sup>s</sup>, *Want*<sup>o</sup>, *Vantus*, *Gevantus*, *Gantus*, by which we arrive at the French *Gant*. See Du Cange.

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I can see no ground for believing any of these reasons; and shall venture to offer one, which I have not seen assigned by any writer; but which, I believe, to be the true one. If the reader cannot agree with me, I trust he will at least acquit me of fanciful etymology. I believe that Peter of Lyons, was called WALDO, because that was his name; and for no other reason whatever. Why were other people called Waldo? I doubt not that if we had a list of his contemporaries, we should find the name often enough. I pretend to no extensive acquaintance with the French, or Germans, of the middle ages; but I have met with the name quite often enough to convince me that it was far from being uncommon.

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These instances may be sufficient to shew that there was nothing very uncommon, in a man's being named Waldo.<sup>18</sup> Those who could not manage a W, spelt it *Vualdo*, or *Gualdo*, or, by a change common in those days, might make it *Walto*; and one of these names, or perhaps all of them, according to the fancy of those who wrote it, seems to have been borne by this citizen of Lyons, whose zeal for true religion, and against the superstitions of the times, brought upon him,

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<sup>18</sup> Beside these I have seen *Walda*, as the name of both a man and a woman. *Walda*, wife of the Viscount Ratburn, 941 (Mab. ubi sup. Sæc. v. 315); and a noble matron named *Walda* (Ib. Sæc. II. 1035). *Fulco Walda* is mentioned as a witness to a charter of William the Conqueror (Dug. Mon. i. 553). In fact, names formed, or compounded, from *Wald* are plentiful; and perhaps there is no word more likely to have furnished them. *Waldum*, *Waldus*, *Walda*, *Waldora*, *Gualdus*, *Gaudus*, almost bring us both to the German word *Wald*, and its English equivalent *Wood*, of which they were all representatives in the middle ages. Perhaps, indeed, there is no word which may be said to be more thoroughly German, (if one may so speak) or more suited from its derivatives and compounds, and its multiplied connexions and associations with the country, the laws, the habits, the history and the poetry of the nation, to stand as the representative of the German language. If the reader refers to Heinsius's German Dictionary, he will find more than three hundred words derived, or compounded, from *Wald*. A close parallel to the case of *Waldum* may be found in *Wantu*<sup>8</sup>, *Want*<sup>9</sup>, *Vantus*, *Gvvanthus*, *Gantus*, by which we arrive at the French *Gant*. See Du Cange.

and his followers, the censure, and persecution, of the church of Rome. Before he began his career as a reformer, (and I believe he was truly one, in the best sense of the word,) I do not find that he had ever had any thing to do with woods, or vallies, or heretics. It does not appear that he joined himself to any sect then in existence; nor do I believe that it can be shewn that he ever had any intercourse with, or derived any peculiarity of doctrine from any sect. There was, indeed, one peculiarity (and there were not many) in which the Waldenses agreed with the Albigenses—which was of itself enough to stamp them as heretics, in the eyes of the Romish church—and which, of all points of doctrine, seem to have been made most prominent, and to have been most insisted on by the Waldenses—and it is curious that this point had been held, and publicly avowed, by an Archbishop of Lyons, before Waldo was born. He needed not to go to Val Grant (wherever that might be) or even to go out of his own city, to hear the doctrine of the unlawfulness of oaths; a doctrine which, as I have said, was, I believe, more frequently and more urgently insisted on than any other by the Waldenses.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> I say this, because some Waldensian confessions made before the Inquisition of Thoulouse, to which I shall have occasion to call the reader's attention, may be classed in the following manner. They are in number 92. Of



As the story of the Archbishop is rather curious, and not altogether impertinent, I will translate it as literally as I can from his biographer,<sup>20</sup> and I think it will appear that what was afterwards treated as heresy in Peter Waldo, must have been a doctrine pretty generally known to exist, even at Lyons, in the year 1046, as it was thus publicly avowed by an archbishop, supported by three bishops. After relating how Halinardus, when Abbot of the Monastery of St. Benignus, had been called to the Archiepiscopal See of Lyons, his monkish biographer proceeds—

“ Therefore, on account of the gift of the  
“ bishopric, the Lord Halinardus elected thereto  
“ went to the court of the Emperor Henry, and  
“ with him some of the bishops who were suffra-  
“ gans, the archidiaconal legates, and the clergy  
“ of Lyons, who sought to have him for their  
“ pastor. The emperor, according to custom  
“ required from him, the oath of due fealty, for  
“ the episcopal dignity conferred. Hugh, Arch-

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these, 28 contain no specification of doctrine, 1 does specify some doctrine, but is silent as to oaths. The remaining 63, *all* specify their unlawfulness, as a doctrine taught on the occasions referred to, and 27 of them state this doctrine *only*.

<sup>20</sup> The anonymous author of the Chronicle of St. Benignus of Dijon: He was a monk (and the Archbishop had formerly been Abbot) of that Monastery. See Mab. A. S. Ord. Bened. SÆC. VI. p. 33.

“ bishop of Besançon, was the person who delivered the requisition. Halinardus, hearing these words, replied, ‘ If I set aside the precepts of the eternal King, and of the rule to which I have bound myself by an oath, what confidence can be placed in me that I should keep the oath of the emperor ; for the Lord says, in the gospel, “ swear not at all,” and the rule of Father Benedict directs a monk not to swear, and to estrange himself from secular affairs.’ These things being reported to the king, he was astonished, and approving in his own mind his consistency, but yet wishing to try his perseverance, he said, that he would by no means give him the archbishopric, if he did not obey his commands. But, he said, ‘ It were better for me never to receive the priestly office, than to transgress the command of God.’ Upon this, the bishops of those parts, and especially Sigebaud, Bishop of Spire, where this took place, insisted, saying ‘ who is this, that in the palace of a prince, presumes to disobey his commands, which none of us ever dared to do. Either let him swear fealty to the king, or be rejected.’ But Theodoric, Bishop of Metz, and Bruno, Bishop of Toul, and Richard, Bishop of Verdun, being his friends, persuaded the emperor that he ought not for this to give trouble to an ecclesiastic, whose mind they knew to be firm in the faith,



“ and in other virtues. To this the emperor replied, ‘ Persuade him, if he will not take the oath, at least to come forward, so that he may appear to have done it, lest the custom of our country should be made void.’ He answered, ‘ It is the same thing, if I pretend, as if I do it—far be it from me.’ The emperor seeing him so firm, would not farther disturb him, and, confiding in his mere word and promise, gave him what was desired, and caused him to be ordained in his own presence, giving him whatever was necessary for the sacerdotal benediction. And, not only for him and the other bishops, but also for the levites and ministers of the altar, he so prepared all things, namely, vestments, books, cloths, and whatever was necessary, as if he had not been a prince, but a servant. For that religious king was very ecclesiastical; and very devout in matters concerning divine worship.”

## SECTION VI.

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### ON THE GENUINENESS OF THE WALDEN- SIAN MANUSCRIPTS.

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I MUST say, and I may as well say it at once, that I do not believe the various documents, published by Morland, and others, as Waldensian writings of the twelfth century, to be genuine. It may be hard (to me it is at present impossible) to prove that all of them are forgeries ; but it would not be difficult to shew, that there are among them, so many, and such manifest, forgeries, as throw discredit on the whole matter ; and render it almost unnecessary to say a single word in reply, to those who argue on the assumption of their genuineness. Some of these treatises, indeed, are merely such pieces of popular and common-place instruction, as could never be unseasonable. For instance, the “ Discourse on Dancing and Balls,” from which I will give an extract, might have been written, so far as regards the subject matter, at any time ; and one

can only wonder that Morland (or any man whom Cromwell was content to employ) should have thought it worth while to print such rubbish. I give the extract in the words of his translation ;—

“ Item, at the balls they violate the *Ten Commandments* of God—viz. the *First* ; ‘ Thou shalt have no other Gods but me : ’ but, at the ball they adore that person whom they study to serve ; and therefore St. Hierome saith, that the God of every one, is that which he serveth, and loveth above all things.

“ They sin in balls against the *Second* Commandment, when they make idols of that which each one loveth.

“ Against the *Third* Commandment, ‘ Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain ’ : when at the balls they serve the vanity of sin.

“ Against the *Fourth*, for by balls the Sabbath Day is profaned.

“ Against the *Fifth*, ‘ Honour thy Father and thy Mother ; for in dancing the parents are often dishonoured, while many contracts and agreements are there made without their knowledge or consent.

“ Against the *Sixth*, ‘ Thou shalt not kill,’ for persons are often killed at balls ; since every person who studieth to please another, killeth the soul in moving her to lust.

“ They sin in balls against the *Seventh*, ‘ Thou shalt not commit adultery,’ for the person, male or female, commits adultery so often as they lust : for he that looketh upon a woman to lust after her, hath already committed adultery with her.

“ Against the *Eighth*, ‘ Thou shalt not steal.’ They sin at the ball against this commandment, when one steals the heart of another from God.

“ Against the *Ninth*, ‘ Thou shalt not bear false wit-

“ness,” when one speaketh falsely at the ball, contrary  
“to truth.

“The *Tenth*, ‘Thou shalt not covet.’ They sin  
“against this, when the women covet the ornaments of  
“others, and when men covet the wives, daughters, and  
“servants of their neighbours.” Morland, p. 90.

I have already said that such matter as this might be written at any time; for I apprehend that there never was a period, within “the utmost memory of man,” when the inhabitants of Piedmont and France would have been the worse for some exhortation on the subject of dancing.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Can anything be more characteristic of the French nation, than the xxx canon of the Council held at Bayeux, in Normandy, about the year 1300, which prohibits dancing in *churches*, and *church-yards*? If, “at the ball,” they did not violate all the ten commandments, these light-heeled wretches trampled on all decency. Neither the altars of God, nor the graves of their kindred, were safe from the desecration of their fantastic toes. Surely this was outdoing the intrusive abomination of their own national device—surely the frogs of Egypt were less out of place in the bed-chamber of Pharaoh. “Prohibeant sacerdotes, sub pœna excommunicationis choreas in ecclesiis, vel cœmeteriis duci.” Conc. xi. P. i. 1454.

It was not until after this note was written, and, (lest I should be suspected of any allusion where it could not be intended) I will add, not until the 104th page of this work had been printed, that I obtained Mr. Gilly’s “Narrative of an Excursion to the Mountains of Piemont, in the year 1823.” It seems that by the time he visited them, the Waldenses had forgotten, or learned to neglect,



With regard to such compositions, the great, if not the only, criterion is their language; and

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the good advice of their forefathers. He gives the following account of a "festive party" and "Alpine dance."

"The time passed so imperceptibly with the good pastor of La Torre, that it was late before we remembered, that we were engaged to look in upon the little festive party, which was collected at the house of one of the family of the Vertus. M. Bert's son and daughter, and one of his English pupils, had set out long before us, and I began to fear, lest I should have the appearance of forgetting the early habits of these simple mountaineers. My venerable friend quieted my scruples, by assuring me, that upon occasions like the present, amusements were extended to long past midnight.

"We found the house, to which we were invited, as full as it would hold. All the principal families of La Torre were assembled together, young and old, and the largest room was set apart for the use of the dancers. One or two adjoining apartments were employed as rooms, to which the company might adjourn for refreshments, or conversation. In the most complete sense of the word, it was a rustic assembly, where all was good humour, cheerfulness, and frankness. The music consisted of a flute, and a couple of violins: the dances were those of the country; the refreshments were a thin wine, and cakes; and the dress was principally the costume of the Alps. Two or three young girls, and among them the charming girl to whom the younger M. Vertu was engaged, were dressed in white; but colours, and chiefly red, were conspicuous. The young men were attended without any regard to the fashions of Turin; and the movements of their steps were regulated by nature, and a good ear; and not by the studied lessons of a ballet-master. The elder personages looked on with unfeigned satisfaction; and the youthful actors in this happy scene, performed their parts with all that gaiety of heart, and simplicity of manners, which distinguish the inhabitants of remote villages. It was, indeed, a genuine, unmingled delight to witness the innocent happiness of the hour; for if the sight of pain be itself pain, the sight of pleasure is no less pleasure, where the heart is pure, and the mind is uncorrupted.

"I was interested in observing how much M. Bert entered into the spirit of the amusements of the evening. Austerity forms no part

of this I have not such a knowledge as would enable me even to form an opinion of what has

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“ of the religious character of the Vaudois; and this worthy minister  
 “ thought it not at all inconsistent with his sacred profession, to be  
 “ present at an assemblage of his flock, where music and dancing  
 “ were admitted. ‘ I love,’ said he, ‘ to see cheerfulness and happiness  
 “ under every form: and where can be the harm of young persons thus  
 “ recreating themselves under their parents’ eyes, where nothing inde-  
 “ corous is done; or of my being the spectator of their innocent revels?’  
 “ Formerly, dancing was prohibited among the Vaudois; but it was in  
 “ those dark and dismal times, when these poor people were scarcely  
 “ ever secure of their lives, and when any indication of merriment  
 “ agreed but ill with their miserable condition. In days of active per-  
 “ secution, piety will naturally assume something of the gloomy tinc-  
 “ ture of the period; and when the heart ought to be sad, every move-  
 “ ment of levity is ill-timed, and unbecoming.” p. 241. *Fourth Ed.*

I should really like to see some account of the “ active persecutions” which gave rise to the “ Discourse on Dancing and Balls,” which I have quoted. Morland gives it as one of the pieces “ extracted out of divers authentic manuscripts, written in their own language, *several* “ *hundreds of years* before either Calvin or Luther;” and some history of the persecution of the inhabitants of these vallies at such a period, is a desideratum in ecclesiastical history. However, my object in making this extract (as indeed it was my motive for writing on the subject at all) is to enable the reader to judge how far the Albigenses, and Waldenses, ought to be considered as the special, and predicted witnesses of God; and with the same view (without intending, in the slightest degree, to question the strict truth of Mr. Gilly’s statement) I shall add another account of a “ festive party,” which leads me to doubt whether the “ revels” of the Vaudois are always quite as “ innocent” as they were in his presence. In a letter

been said on the subject by others. I would, however, offer one remark on a circumstance which, obvious and important as it is, has not always been attended to. If, upon examination by competent persons, the language of these compositions should turn out to be more modern than the date which they bear, the question will be settled ; but, on the other hand, if the language should be ancient, it would be no proof of

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which I received from a clergyman, dated Lyons, 22nd Oct. 1825, he says—

“ In coming home this summer, I spent a few days among the Waldenses. Their ancient piety seems to have been reduced to its last embers, when the intercourse with England has begun, I trust, to revive it. The mass of the people play at cards, for example, all Sunday ; as well as spare time on week days. I went to a festival at Angrogna on Sunday by desire of the pastor. The pastor of the place dined that day with the R. C. priest. There was a grand shooting at a mark, and the pastor took his turn. There was *dancing* and *drunkenness*, (and remember there is little or no distinction of classes in their society) before I came away, at four o'clock. The chief pastor of all their clergy sent an excuse, that his daughters were hindered being at the fair by an accident ; but he sent his pupil, a youth of ten or twelve, to take care of himself. Every house had been supplied by our Bible Society with a Bible or Testament ; and I hope the power of the Spirit may accompany the word, and cause these dead bones to live.”

I ought, perhaps, to add, that the letter was merely written in the course of correspondence, between two school-fellows, who were interested in each other's movements ; and not in reply to any enquiry on my part, or under any idea that I felt any particular interest in the Waldenses ; or that I was collecting information, respecting them, which, in fact, I had not then thought of doing.



the antiquity of the compositions. A man who is so far acquainted with, and interested in, any such subject as to meditate any forgery of the kind, may be supposed to have some knowledge of the language in which he pretends to write, and some power of imitating it.

Suppose, that in an alleged letter of Cicero, we should find him telling Atticus, that a certain criminal had been detected in a design to escape from prison, and expressing himself in the following terms:—"Item, postmodum tractavit aliquociens, et cum tractantibus consensit, quod ipse et quidam alii, quos nominat clam recederent et fugerent de muro; et ad hoc dedit opem et operam operando et cooperando illa quæ erant necessaria ad corda facienda, et pro scala ad exeundum; nec per eum stetit quin ipse, et alii, aufugerent, set fuerunt ipse, et alii, preventi et deprehensi in tractatu suo, et impediti;"<sup>2</sup> should we hesitate to pronounce it a forgery? Yet there have been many persons, much farther removed from the time of Cicero than the author whose words I have just quoted—and, indeed, there are many persons now living—who could frame such a piece of latinity, as might be interpolated among Cicero's letters without any possibility of proof from internal evidence that it was not genuine; and, undoubtedly,

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<sup>2</sup> Lib. Sentent. p. 231.



a man in the *fourteenth*, or *fifteenth*, century might imitate the language of the *twelfth*, at least so well as that a critic of the eighteenth, or nineteenth, should not be able to detect the forgery. Of the language, then, of these manuscripts, I say nothing, except that I am no judge of it.<sup>3</sup>

As to some of these pieces, however, there are other criteria—and let us just look at one of them. We will take that which comes first in Morland's History, and ask one or two questions respecting it.

It is a **CONFESSION OF FAITH**; and one writer after another ushers it in with great pomp, and sounds his trumpet before it in due form.

Morland entitles it,

“An ancient Confession of Faith of the  
“Waldenses, copied out of certain Manuscripts,

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<sup>3</sup> Since this was written, I have seen Mr. Gilly's “remarks on the ancient language of the Vaudois,” in which he says, “a comparison between the words in the brief ‘‘ vocabulary subjoined, and those in the original of the ‘‘ ‘ Noble Lesson,’ which will be found in Appendix No. ‘‘ II., will shew how little the language of this secluded ‘‘ community has varied for the last seven hundred years.” App. No. IX. p. li. He who is satisfied that the “Noble Lesson” was written in 1100, may argue that the language has (unlike most other languages) remained unchanged for seven centuries; but he, who, on other grounds, suspects it to be a forgery, will feel his suspicions most powerfully confirmed, by the admission that it is written in language not materially different from that which is now spoken.

“bearing date Anno Dom. 1120. That is to say, near 400 years before the time of either Luther or Calvin.” p. 30.

Leger says,

“Je commenceray par une piece admirable, et pour son antiquité, et pour sa matiere, qui se trouve dans le vieux manuscript sus-nommé, et rapporté par Perrin en la page 225 de son Histoire. Elle est dattée de l’an 1120. 60 ou 80 ans devant que parut Valdo de Lyon.” p. 92.

Mr. Faber ushers it in thus—

“The most full and systematic account of the doctrines, taught and maintained by the ancient Vallenses, will be found in their Confession of Faith, preserved among the Cambridge Manuscripts, and bearing the date of the year 1120;” and then proceeds to give a translation of it, beginning thus—“We believe, and firmly hold, all that is contained in the twelve articles of the symbol, which is called the Apostles’ Creed, accounting for heresy whatsoever is disagreeing and not consonant to the said twelve articles. We do believe that there is one God; Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. We acknowledge, for the Holy Canonical Scriptures, the books of the Holy Bible: and we read the books called apocryphal for the instruction of the people, but not to confirm the authority of the doctrine of the church.” On this, Mr. Faber adds, in a note, “Here is inserted a list

“ of the canonical books, *exactly corresponding*  
“ with our common English Bibles.” p. 50.

Yes, indeed, it does correspond very exactly ; and the resemblance was observed by Milner, who says, “ they acknowledged the *same* canon “ of scripture, which the church of England does “ in her sixth article ; and, *what is very remark-*  
“ *able*, they give the *same* account of the apocry-  
“ phal books, accompanied with the *same* remark  
“ of Jerome, which the reader will find in  
“ the *same* sixth article.”<sup>4</sup> It seems to me also  
“ very remarkable,” that this “ remark of St.  
Jerome,” is, as far as I know, peculiar to this document, and our Article ; and, when I consider that our Article had been published long before there is any evidence of the existence of this confession, I cannot help thinking that the coincidence is somewhat more than accidental. This however is of no great consequence ; and it may be more important, to ask a few questions which the confession itself suggests.<sup>5</sup>

1. If it was written in the year 1120, as a Confession of Faith by a public body, which had then long existed, and which continued, and still

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<sup>4</sup> Vol. III. p. 462.

<sup>5</sup> The Confession may be found at length in the Appendix to Mr. Gilly's Narrative, No. XII. p. lix. *Fourth Edition.*



does continue, to exist as a church, how comes it that such a document—so ancient, so explicit, so “full and systematic,” in every view so important—should never have been noticed in any subsequent confession of faith, made either by that, or by any kindred church? Shortly after the Reformation, confessions of faith sprang up in such numbers, that the reformers were taunted with the name of *Confessionists*; and surely this venerable document, which had testified point blank against popery, for four hundred years, could hardly have been overlooked, if it really existed. If the reformers of Germany, France, Switzerland, Scotland, and England, knew nothing of it, surely the Waldenses themselves would have appealed to it. Should we not, for instance, find some reference to it, in the Confession of Sendomir, which was framed by a synod convened in 1570, to clear up some points of difference, between the reformed churches of Poland and the Waldenses?<sup>a</sup> Nay, Morland himself, only a few pages farther on, gives us “another Confession

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<sup>a</sup> See the “*Consensus Sendomiriensis*” in Augusti’s *Corp. Lib. Symbol.* p. 255. The full title is as follows; “*Consensus mutuus in religionis christianæ capitibus inter ecclesias majoris et minoris Poloniæ, Lithuanicæ, et Samogitiæ, quæ juxta Confessionem Augustanam, fratrum Waldensium, ut vocant, et Helveticam, aliquo modo a se dissentire videbantur, factus in Synodo Sendomiriensi. Anno 1570, April 14.*”



of Faith of the Waldenses,"<sup>7</sup> which makes no reference to this one. Shall we account for this by saying, "Oh, no doubt, that was of still more remote antiquity?" To say the truth, I really believe it was the oldest of the two; and that, if there had been fair play, it ought to have been noticed in that before us. To proceed, however, the very next article in Morland's History, is "A brief Confession of Faith, made with general consent, by the Ministers and Heads of Families, of the Churches of the Vallies of Piedmont, assembled in Angrogne, the 12th of September of the year 1532." This, to be sure, is a great jump from the year 1120; but these ministers and heads of families, seem to have known nothing of what Mr. Faber calls the "most full and systematic account of the doctrines taught and maintained by the ancient Vallenses"—at least they make no reference to it, and speak only of "doctrine which was taught them from father to son according to the word of God." Morland next gives us (p. 41.) "A declaration of the Waldenses," &c. made in the year 1603, and beginning, "Whereas our predecessors, from father to son, time out of mind, have been taught and brought up in the doctrine and religion of which we, from our childhood, have made open profession, and in the same have instructed

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<sup>7</sup> Morland, p. 37.

“our families,” &c. and then going on to say, “We request the reformed churches to hold and acknowledge us, as true members of theirs, being ready to sign with our own blood, (if God calleth us to it) the confession of faith, by them made and published, [why in the world did not they refer to their own confession of 1120? It had been *made* long enough; and if it had not been *published*, it was high time that it should be] which we acknowledge agreeing with the doctrine taught and registered by the holy apostles, &c.”—how could they help saying, “with our own ‘most full and systematic account,’ of our faith?” Surely there is no need to pursue this argument; or to say that these Waldenses, in 1603, knew nothing of this most ancient confession of 1120.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> If the reader, however, is not satisfied, and wishes to pursue the enquiry, he may find more in Morland; and let him also look at the “*Oratio excusatoria atque satisfactiva Fratrum Waldensium*,” presented by them to Vladislaus, King of Hungary—would it not have been natural to quote some of these ancient documents, after having said, “*magno desiderio fuimus, si se facultas obtulerit, de religionis nostræ arcanis (quorum causa diversas angustias sustinemus) simpliciter rationem regulamque pandere, quo suffulti auxilio, omnium etiam calumniatorum objectis delationibus mansuetum et pium semper experiamur regem*,” &c. *Fascic. Rer. expet. et fugiend. vol. I. p. 162.*



2. Let me ask—if Peter Waldo used occasionally to “sojourn in the valleys of Piedmont”—if, “it was from his intercourse with the ancient Vallenses, that he himself borrowed his own name”—if, “on the most liberal computation, he did not commence his christian labours anterior to the year 1160”—and, if these “ancient Vallenses” had this confession, cut and dry, at least forty years, before he began his christian labours, why, in all the world, did that good man trouble himself to make a translation of the scriptures? Yet, that he did this is, perhaps, one of the best authenticated facts of his history. “Enlightened,” says Mr. Faber, “by the perusal of Holy Scripture, and clearly perceiving that the Bible and the Church of Rome were utterly at variance, Peter of Lyons, as Thuanus remarks, was anxious that the people should have the writings of the prophets and the apostles, in their own tongue.”<sup>9</sup> Why

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<sup>9</sup> Sac. Cal. Vol. III. p. 48. The words of Thuanus, as given by Mr. Faber, are “*Is totum se evangelicæ professioni devoverat, et prophetarum atque apostolorum scripta populari lingua vertenda curaverat.* Thuan. Hist. Lib. vi. §. 16.” The assertion of Thuanus is not merely that Peter Waldo wished the people to have the scriptures, but that he caused the scriptures to be translated into the vulgar tongue; and of this we have other, and better, evidence than that of Thuanus. Le Long (Bib. Sac. Cap. v. §. 1.) says that there was no French version of the whole

had they not had them for at least forty years on the evidence of this confession, which talks in an

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Bible before the time of the Waldenses; and that the persons first employed in making one, were those referred to by Pope Innocent III. in a letter written about the year 1200 (Lib. II. Ep. 421. p. 432. Ed. Baluz.) "To all the faithful of Christ, as well of the city as of the diocese, of Metz. Our venerable brother the Bishop of Metz, has signified to us by his letters, that no small number of laymen and women, both in the diocese and city of Metz, being led by a certain love of the scriptures, have caused the Gospels, Epistles of Paul, Psalter, Morals of Job, and other books to be translated into French." Le Long then gives, as the first article of this section, "Certain books of the scriptures (especially the New Testament) translated into the vernacular, that is, the French, language by *Stephanus de Ansa*, or, *de Emsa*, a priest of Lyons, by the procurement and at the charge of Peter Valdensis, after the year 1170, or 1180;" and he adds, as his authority for this statement, "Stephanus de Borbone, or de Bellavilla, a Dominican, who died in 1261, describing the origin of the Valdenses (in his book 'de 7 donis Spiritus Sancti,' part 4. tit. 7. cap. 30.) says, 'They were called Valdenses from the first author of this heresy, who was named Valdensis. They are called also "Poor men of Lyons," because there they began in the profession of poverty. . . . That sect, however, began in this manner, according to what I have heard from many persons who had seen the earlier members of it, (qui priores eorum viderunt) and from that priest *Bernardus Ydros* who was held in considerable respect (satis honoratus) and rich in the city of Lyons, and a friend of our Order; who, when he was young, and a scribe,



off-hand way, of reading even the apocryphal books, *for the instruction of the people?* Milner

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“ ‘ wrote the earlier books which they had, for the said  
 “ ‘ Valdensis, in the Provençal language (in Romano) for  
 “ ‘ money, from the dictation of a certain grammarian  
 “ ‘ called *Stephanus de Ansa* (by others *de Emsa*) who after-  
 “ ‘ wards while he held a benefice in the greater church of  
 “ ‘ Lyons (*another MS. reads*, being appointed a priest)  
 “ ‘ falling from an upper chamber of a house which he  
 “ ‘ was building, was suddenly killed; and whom I have  
 “ ‘ often seen. A certain rich man of the said city called  
 “ ‘ *Valdensis*, hearing the Gospels, and not having much  
 “ ‘ learning (*cum non esset multum literatus*) yet, being  
 “ ‘ desirous to know what they contained, made an agree-  
 “ ‘ ment with the said priests, that the one should translate  
 “ ‘ into the vulgar tongue, and that the other should write  
 “ ‘ what he dictated, and this they did. In like manner,  
 “ ‘ many books of the Bible, and authorities of the Fathers,  
 “ ‘ which they called Sentences. This sect, however, be-  
 “ ‘ gan about the year of our Lord 1170, under John, sur-  
 “ ‘ named Bolesmanis, Archbishop of Lyons (*another MS.*  
 “ ‘ *says* 1180, under John, called Bolesmanis).’ ” So far  
 Stephanus de Borbone whom Le Long quotes from  
 Echard's *Sancti Thomæ Summa*, &c. p. 540.

Le Long has indeed another chapter on the translations of the Scriptures into the Provençal language, in which he enumerates the Bibles of the Waldenses in the languages of Piedmont and Provence; but the whole chapter is made up of little more than extracts from Leger's account of Morland's Manuscripts, and so only brings us where we were before. In fact, there are only two exceptions—one, a quarto volume, containing part of the Scriptures, which Le Long refers to the fourteenth century;

says, "whether Waldo himself entirely performed the work, or encouraged others to do it, or, what is most probable, executed it himself with the assistance of others, it is *certain* that the christian world in the west was indebted to him for the *first* translation of the Bible into a modern tongue, since the Latin had ceased to be a living language;"<sup>10</sup> and he afterwards adds, that, when driven from Lyons, Waldo, "himself, retired into Dauphiny, where his tenets took a deep and lasting root. Some of his people did, probably, join themselves to the Vaudois of

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the other, a duodecimo, of which he only says, "N. Testamentum lingua Pedemontano-Vallensi per Barbetum quemdam seu ministrum Vallensem translatum. Codex in 12. Scriptus post annum MC. *Bibl. Civica Tigurina, Ottius.*" That this MS. was written *after* the year 1100, I fully believe; and if the writer styles himself a *Barbe*, and a *Vallensian* minister, I should imagine, a good while after. It does not appear that Le Long knew any more about it than I have extracted from ch. viii. p. 162.

As to versions in the vernacular language of Italy, I believe nothing earlier has been talked of, than one which many writers have stated to have been made by Jacobus de Voragine, after the middle of the thirteenth century—this version if it ever existed is far too modern to affect our question; but who would not doubt the existence of any book—especially of such a book—if it was unknown to Le Long, Muratori, and Magliabecchi? See Le Long. Cap. vi. p. 120.

<sup>10</sup> Vol. III. p. 441.



“ Piedmont, and the new translation of the Bible “ was, doubtless, a rich accession to the spiritual “ treasures of that people.”<sup>11</sup> Why, surely, these poor men of Lyons were carrying coals to Newcastle; and it would have been more to the purpose, to have taken their “ new translation of the Bible” into any other part of the world where it could be read; unless we are to suppose, that the translation read to the people, (apocrypha and all) according to the confession of 1120, had been made in such very, very, remote antiquity, that, by the time of Peter Waldo, it had become obsolete and unintelligible—and this, indeed, seems to me quite as probable, as that there was any such translation of the Bible (or, in fact, any Waldensic church) before the time of Peter Waldo.

3. I do not know, and shall be much obliged to any one who will inform me, how early the two books of *Samuel* and the books of *Chronicles*, came to be so called, after having been commonly (as they still are in Romish versions) entitled the *first*, and *second*, of the *four* books of *Kings*, and *Paralipomenon*. I do not remember to have seen the books of *Samuel* referred to, otherwise than as books of *Kings*; or the books of *Chroni-*

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<sup>11</sup> Vol. III. p. 443.

cles, otherwise than as *Paralipomenon*, by any writer of Latin, or any modern language, before the sixteenth century. Waiving this, however, what shall we say, when we find this confession of 1120, speaking of "the tenth chapter of Esther;" when it is notorious that, the Bible was first divided into chapters, in the middle of the thirteenth century? It not only proves that the document was written long after 1120, but so long after these divisions had been made, that they had ceased to be considered as novelties, and were commonly and familiarly used, as a means of reference. Allix has rejected the Catechism, published by Morland among these pieces, on this very account. "I do not," he says, "intend here, in order to prove the opinions of the diocese of Italy, to make use of a Catechism published by Sir Sam. Morland, and by Leger, as written about the year 1100, nor of another treatise of the Invocation of Saints, which they pretend was written about the year 1120; my reason is, because it seems to me that that Catechism quotes the scripture as distinguished into chapters, which was not till after the midst of the thirteenth century. And as for the Treatise concerning the Invocation of Saints, it quotes the *Milleloquium* of St. Austin, which was not composed by Fr. Bartholomeus, of Urbin, till about the midst of the



"fourteenth century."<sup>12</sup> So that it seems these "gentlemen founded their judgments of the antiquity of these pieces on too weak grounds." Ch. of Piedm. p. 185.

Is it not surprising that, with his eyes thus far opened, Allix should still maintain that the "Noble Lesson" was written in 1100? Yet he refers to it as of undoubted genuineness, and, after abstracting and extracting, exclaims triumphantly, "Now I defy the impudence of the devil himself to find therein the least shadow of Manicheism." No, to be sure—what writer who knew anything of the *Waldenses* ever charged *them* with Manicheism. It is easy to make men of straw, and vanquish them—but while he was making objections and answering them, why did he not explain one circumstance which he has himself noticed, and which, to me at least, looks very suspicious. In his abstract he tell us, that the author of the Noble Lesson "exhorts to

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<sup>12</sup> I do not find the Milleloquium quoted in this Treatise, unless it be under some of the references to St. Augustine; but it is expressly named in the Treatise on Purgatory (Morland, p. 164), and, by the way, I shall be obliged to anybody who can tell me when the word Purgatory (*Purgatorium*, not *ignis purgatorius*, &c.) came to be used, in its present sense. I suspect not until after the date of the ancient confession, though it is therein mentioned. I do not think I have seen it in any writing earlier than the thirteenth century.

the reading of Holy Scripture ;” so he does—and I wish that Allix had explained, how it could have come into any man’s head to give such an exhortation in the year 1100, and who he expected to comply with it—but it was not my intention to have gone farther than the Ancient Confession ; and perhaps I have said enough for the present about the Waldensian Manuscripts.

## SECTION VII.

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### EXTRACTS FROM PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

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**REJECTING**, for the reasons which I have stated, the testimony appealed to by the modern Vaudois, I shall glean what I can from other sources, respecting the doctrine and rites of the ancient Albigenses and Waldenses. These sources it may be found convenient to divide into two classes; though it may not perhaps be easy, or even possible, to draw a proper line of discrimination between them. The first class will include what may be termed *Public Documents*; such as the Canons, Decrees, Letters, Edicts, and Acts, of Councils, Popes, Princes, and Inquisitors—the second will consist of extracts from the works of historians, and other writers, who have noticed these sects. Both classes I shall arrange, as nearly as I can, in chronological order.

Much (but I think not all) of what I am about to lay before the reader has been quoted, or more frequently only referred to, by various writers; and it has generally been accompanied with the remark, that it is "the testimony of their enemies." I do not know that this remark can be fairly extended (at least in the strong sense in which the word "enemies" is generally used on such occasions) to *all* the testimonies which I shall have occasion to quote; but it certainly does apply to some; and, whenever it does, it must be borne in mind. It were obviously unfair to receive entirely, and without scruple, all that is said against these sects by their opponents; and I beg the reader most fully to understand, that I do not lay these extracts before him in order that he may implicitly receive them as the testimonies of well-informed, and unprejudiced, persons—but, that he may take them, and after having, like a reasonable being, weighed and compared them, may form his own judgment on the case. "We only know what their enemies said of them." True—it is much to be regretted that we have none of their own writings by which to check the accounts of their enemies—but, in default of this, let us see what their enemies *did* say, and let us judge, as well as we can, how much of it was true, and how much false. I must say, that it appears to me,



after making every fair rejection and deduction, to prove two things, beyond the possibility of dispute.

First, that the Albigenses and Waldenses were, originally, entirely, and continually, *distinct* sects, differing essentially in their doctrine and rites ; and,

Secondly, that, whatever opinion we may form of the *Waldenses*, (and my own is certainly very favourable) the *Albigenses* were either hypocritical impostors, or misguided fanatics.

I proceed, then, in this section, to offer some extracts from the Councils,<sup>1</sup> and other public documents, only premising, that, as my object was to look for what might throw light on the doctrine, and rites, of these sects, I have extracted nothing but what seemed to me to have that tendency, either by direct reference to them, or by illustrating other documents, having such a reference. I say this, because, without some such previous information, the reader may not perceive why some of the extracts in this section have been made ; their object being only rendered apparent by subsequent references to them.

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<sup>1</sup> The references to the Councils are made to the Edition of Labbe and Cossart, Paris, 1671.

*Council of Thoulouse.* A. D. 1119.

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This Council, which condemned some heretics (though under no specific name) for errors very similar to those charged upon the Albigenses, has been already noticed at page 90.

*Council of Oxford.* A. D. 1160.

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Some account of the persons called *Publicans*, who were (as I have already stated, page 90) condemned by this Council, will come more properly in a subsequent section ; as no acts of the Council are known to be in existence, and the particulars which are known are derived from historians only.

*Council of Tours.* A. D. 1163.

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The fourth canon of this Council (as already stated, page 18) declared that heresy had “ long since sprung up in the parts about Thoulouse ;” but without giving any name to the heretics, or specifying the nature of their errors. The word *Albigenses*, occurs only in the title of the canon, which was probably prefixed to it at a later period ; “ Ut cuncti Albigensium hæreticorum

consortium fugiant." I do not mean to dispute, that the persons referred to, were those whom we now call Albigenses, but I believe the *name* was not used so early.

*Council of Lombers. A. D. 1165.*

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This Council was held at a little town two leagues from Albi, for the examination of those whom Roger Hoveden calls *Arians*; but who seem, by his account, and from other sources, to have called themselves *Boni homines*, or "good men." I shall give an extract from the proceedings as they are related in the Councils, (x. 1470) because the account is fuller than that of Hoveden, though substantially the same; and apparently the source from whence he derived his information.<sup>2</sup>

On this occasion, the Archbishop of Narbonne, several bishops, abbots, and other ecclesiastical persons, as well as the magistrates of Thoulouse, and Albi, and other laymen of dis-

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<sup>2</sup> Labbe says, "ubique verbis iisdem servatis;" but this is not strictly true. Moreover, Hoveden places the council in 1176, and Labbe (in compliment to Bini who had followed Hoveden) does the same, but tells us that the copy which he used, dates the transaction as of 1165, and I have therefore placed it under that year.

tion; together with the wife of Raymond, Count of Thoulouse, and almost all the people of Lombers, and Albi, and other towns, were present.

“ The Bishop of Lodeve, by command of the Bishop of Albi, and of his assessors, asked those who caused themselves to be called ‘ good men’—

“ I. If they received the law of Moses, and the Prophets, or the Psalms, and the Old Testament, and the doctors of the New Testament. They answered before all the multitude, that they did not receive the law of Moses, nor the Prophets, nor the Psalms, nor the Old Testament ; but only the Gospels, the Epistles of Paul, and the seven canonical Epistles, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Apocalypse.

“ II. He asked them of their faith, that they might set it forth. They answered that they would not say unless they were compelled.

“ III. He interrogated them concerning the baptism of children, and if they will be saved by baptism ? They said, that they should say nothing ; but would answer out of the Epistles, and Gospels.

“ IV. He questioned them as to the body, and blood of Christ ; where it was consecrated, or by whom, and who received it, and if it was more, or better, consecrated by a good, than by a bad, person ? They answered, that those who received worthily were saved ; and those who received unworthily, procured to themselves damnation ; and they said that it was consecrated by every good man, whether an ecclesiastic, or a layman ; and they answered nothing else, because they would not be compelled to answer concerning their faith.

“ V. He asked them what they thought of matrimony ; and if a man, and a woman, who were so joined together,



could be saved? They would not answer, except this only—namely, that man, and woman, were united to avoid luxury, and fornication, as St. Paul has said in his Epistle.

“VI. He asked them concerning repentance,—whether when it took place at the time of death, it availed to salvation; or if soldiers who were mortally wounded, could be saved if they repented at the point of death; or if every person ought to confess his sins to the priests, and ministers, of the church, or to any layman, or of whom it was that St. James spoke, when he said ‘Confess your sins one to another?’ They said in reply, that it was sufficient for sick persons, to confess to whomsoever they pleased; but of soldiers they would not speak, because St. James says nothing, except of sick persons.

“He asked also of them, whether the contrition of the heart, and the confession of the mouth alone, were necessary to repentance? or, if it was necessary that after repentance, they should make satisfaction by fastings, mortifications, and alms, bewailing their sins, if they had the means? They answered, and said, that James had said only, that they should confess, and so be saved; and they did not wish to be better than the Apostle, and to add any thing of their own, as the Bishops do.

“They said also, many things without being asked. That it is altogether unlawful to swear any oath, as Jesus said in the Gospel, and James in his Epistle.

“They said also, that Paul stated in his Epistle, what sort of persons were to be ordained in the church, as Bishops and Presbyters; and that if such persons were not ordained as St. Paul directed, they were not Bishops nor Priests, but ravening wolves, and hypocrites, and seducers, loving salutations in the market-places, the chief seats, and highest places in feasts, desiring to be called Rabbi and Master, contrary to the commands of Christ, dressed in albs, and white garments, and wearing on their

*asking questions  
on moral doctrine*

fingers, gold rings with gems, which their master Jesus had not commanded ; and pouring forth many other reproaches. And therefore since they were not Bishops and Priests (except as those were priests who had betrayed Christ) they ought not to obey them, because they were evil men ; not good teachers, but hirelings.

“ In answer to what they said, many authorities of the New Testament were produced, by the Lord Pontius Archbishop of Narbonne, and by Arnold Bishop of Nismes, and Peter Abbot of Sendres, and the Abbot of Fontfroid.

“ The allegations, and the authorities, of the New Testament, having been heard on both sides (for they would not receive judgment except by the New Testament) the Bishop of Lodeve, after silence had been made, by command of the Bishop of Albi, and the assessors above-named, gave the following sentence, according to law, and from the New Testament, in the presence of all the persons aforesaid.

“ I, Joceline, Bishop of Lodeve, by command of the Bishop of Albi, and his assessors, adjudge those who call themselves ‘ Boni homines ’ to be heretics, and I condemn the sect of Oliverius, and of his companions, and those who hold the sect of the heretics of Lombers wheresoever they may be ; and this we judge by authority of the New Testament, that is, the Gospels, and Epistles, and Psalms, and Acts of the Apostles and the Apocalypse.”

The Bishop then proceeded to enforce what he considered the catholic doctrine ; and, to prove it by authority of scripture, as to those points, which have been already stated. It is not to our purpose to recite all that he said ; and it may easily be imagined how he maintained the authority of the Old Testament, the necessity of bap-



tism, the lawfulness of marriage, &c. ; but I must remark, with regard to the latter point, that the parties seem quite to have changed places ; and that it is somewhat strange to find Antichrist condemning the Witnesses as heretics for “forbidding to marry.” After this discourse,

“The heretics answered, that the Bishop who had given sentence was a heretic, and not they ; and that he was their enemy, and was a ravening wolf, and a hypocrite, and an enemy of God, and had not judged rightly ; and they would not answer concerning their faith, because they were aware of him, as the Lord had commanded them in the Gospels, ‘Beware of false prophets,’ who come unto you in sheeps’ clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves ; and that he was a fraudulent persecutor of them ; and they were prepared to shew by the Gospels and Epistles, that he was not a good shepherd, neither he, nor the other bishops, and priests ; but rather hirelings.

“The Bishop answered, that the sentence had been given against them agreeably to law ; and that he was prepared to prove, in the court of the Lord Alexander, the Catholic Pope, and in the court of Louis, King of France, and in the court of Raymond, Count of Thoulouse, or of his wife, who was present, or in the court of Trencavel,<sup>3</sup> then present, that the cause had been rightly judged ; and that they were manifestly, and notoriously, heretics ; and he promised that he would accuse them of heresy, in every catholic court, and would submit to the decision of a trial.

“Seeing themselves however to be convicted, and confounded, they turned themselves to all the people saying,

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<sup>3</sup> Viscount of Beziers.

‘Hear, O good men, our faith, which we confess—we now confess out of love to you, and for your sakes.’ The aforesaid Bishop replied ‘You do not say that you will speak for the Lord’s sake; but for the sake of the people;’ and they said ‘We believe in one living and true God, trine and one, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit,—that the Son of God took flesh, was baptised in Jordan, fasted in the desert, preached our salvation, suffered, died, and was buried, descended into hell, rose the third day, ascended into heaven, sent the Spirit, the Paraclete, on his disciples on the day of Pentecost, will come at the day of judgment to judge the quick and the dead, and that all will rise. We acknowledge also that what we believe with the heart, we ought to confess with the mouth. We believe that he is not saved who does not eat the body of Christ, and that it is not consecrated except in the church, and also not except by a priest, and that it is not better done by a good, than by a bad, priest. We believe also, that no one is saved except by baptism; and that children are saved by baptism. We believe also, that man and wife are saved, though carnally united; and that every one ought to receive penance in the heart, and with the mouth, and to be baptised by a priest, and in the church.’ And, indeed, if any thing more in the church, could be shewn by the Gospels, or Epistles, they would believe, and confess it.

“The aforesaid Bishop also asked them, if they would swear that they held, and believed, that faith; and if there was any thing else which they ought to confess, that they had improperly believed, or taught, or not. In reply, they said that they would not in any-wise swear; because they should do contrary to the Gospels, and Epistles. Authorities of the New Testament were however brought against them by the aforesaid catholic persons; and thus the authorities on both sides having been heard, the aforesaid Bishop rising up gave judgment in the following manner—



"I, Joceline, Bishop of Lodeve, by authority and mandate of the Bishop of Albi, and of his assessors, judge and give sentence, that these heretics are in error as to the matter of oaths; and ought to swear if they will repent, and that an oath is to be tendered where the faith is in question; and since they are of evil report, and accused of heresy, they ought to clear themselves from the charge; and returning to the unity of the church, they ought to affirm their faith by an oath, as the catholic church holds and believes, lest the weak who are in the church should be corrupted, and lest sickly sheep should infect the whole flock."

The Bishop then went on to prove the lawfulness of oaths, after which the account proceeds—

"Seeing, therefore, they were convicted on this point, they said that the Bishop of Albi had made an agreement, that he would not force them to swear; which the Bishop of Albi denied."

The sentence was therefore confirmed by the Bishop of Albi, and most of the principal persons present.

*Letter of Raymond, Count of Thoulouse, to the Abbot and Chapter General of Citeaux. A. D. 1178.*

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The state of things in Thoulouse, and its neighbourhood, about thirteen years after the Council of Lombers, may be in some degree judged of, from a letter of Raymond, Count of

Thoulouse ; and from the proceedings to which it gave rise.

It has been preserved by Gervase, who introduces it in the following manner:—"There had  
"broken out in these days,<sup>4</sup> in the territory of  
"the Count of Thoulouse, a malignant heresy ;  
"which, making void the faith, and ecclesiastical  
"discipline, of the orthodox fathers, destroyed,  
"with its abominable poison, not only the ignorant vulgar, but also the priests, and bishops of  
"the church of God, and the chief men of the  
"laity. The detestable perverseness of this heresy will be better understood from the letter  
"of the Count of Thoulouse, which the said  
"Count sent to the Chapter General of Citeaux.  
"The letter is as follows:—

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<sup>4</sup> "Pullulaverat his diebus." Gervase does not seem to have been one of the "best informed Romanists." (See before, p. 37.) Indeed, I should like to know who they were—for, in several cases, I shall have occasion to shew, that contemporary historians used language very inconsistent with the notion of "remote antiquity;" and such as completely refutes the assertion that "the Romanists are constrained to acknowledge their own ignorance, in regard to the origin of the two churches;" and that "those among them who had the best means of information, will only venture to say, that these heretical communities had, in the twelfth century, already existed from a period far beyond the memory of man." As this point is so important, and so broadly and positively stated, I trust the reader will excuse my repeatedly calling his attention to it.



"To his Lord, and the Venerable A. Abbot of Citeaux, and to all the Convent, in a General Chapter assembled, the Count of Thoulouse, Duke of Narbonne, Marquis of Provence, being desirous, as one ready to make shipwreck of the faith, to be strengthened, and supported by their blessings and prayers.

"Since it is manifest, amidst the treasures of your wisdom and knowledge, that, in our parts, the little foxes destroy the vineyards, which the right hand of the Most High has planted;<sup>5</sup> and the fountains without water, and clouds driven by whirlwinds, endeavour to make void the fountain which is open to the House of David for sin, and for uncleanness, and pour forth streams of poison,

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<sup>5</sup> In allusion to Canticles ii. 15. "Take us the foxes, the little foxes that spoil the vines." Such an application of the text is very ancient. Jerome (on Ezek. i.) says, "Porro juxta septuaginta hic sensus est; omnes hæretici, propter fraudulentiam ac nequitiam vulpium similes sunt: de quibus Salvator loquitur: '*Valpes forcas habent: et volucres celi nidos.*' Et de Herode scriptum est: '*Dicite vulpi huic.*' Et de iisdem vulpibus quæ parvulos simplicesque decipiunt, et populantur vineam Christi, Salomon loquitur: '*Capite nobis vulpes parvulas dissipantes vineas.*'" Bernard, on this passage of Canticles, says, "*si juxta allegoriam ecclesias vineas, vulpes hæreses, vel potius hæreticos ipsos, intelligamus.*" Sermon in Cant. LXIV. and we shall find it in the letter of his successor Henry. This figure, which was a favourite one, naturally led some writers of the middle ages, to allude to Sampson's foxes; and to represent the heretics as resembling them, because, though they were distinct, and had separate heads, yet they were joined together by their tails—that is, were united by the fact of heresy and opposition to the catholic church. Thus Reinerius Saccho says, "*Sicut in Judi-* cum libro legitur quod vulpes Samsonis facies diversas habebant, sed caudas sibi invicem colligatas; sic hæretici, in sectis sunt divisi in se, sed in impugnatione Ecclesiæ, sunt uniti. Quando in uno domo sunt hæretici tum [i. trium] sectarum quælibet, quarum quælibet damnat alteram, simul Romanam Ecclesiam impugnat. Et sic subdole vulpeculæ, vineam Domini, id est, Ecclesiam erroribus demoliantur." Cap. IV.

that they may destroy the trees planted by the water courses, I ask, and I entreat, that you would rise up to oppose them ; and that, to prevent their discourse, which eats as doth a canker, from farther prevailing, you would set yourselves as a wall for the house of Israel. In fact, this abominable pest of heresy has so far gained ground, that almost all who agree with it, think they are doing God service ; and that Wicked One, who now worketh the mystery of iniquity in the children of unbelief, so transforms himself into an angel of light, that alas ! the wife is divided against the husband, the son against the father, the daughter-in-law against the mother-in-law. Moreover, in our parts of the country, the fine gold has so become dim, that it is trodden down like dirt under the feet of the devil. For even the priests are infected with heresy ; and the ancient, and once venerated, places of the church lie waste, and ruinous ; baptism is denied, the eucharist abominated, penance made light of, the doctrines of man's creation and the resurrection of the flesh, altogether rejected, all the sacraments of the church annulled, and (what is horrible to say) even two principles are introduced.)

“ And now what shall I say ? Are there not some who will consider, and say in their hearts, “ What do we, when these men do so many evil things ? If we let them thus alone, all men will believe in them ; and he who thus drinketh up a river and hasteth not, will, in the boldness of his presumption, draw up Jordan into his mouth.”<sup>6</sup> I, indeed, who confess that I am girded with one of the two divine swords ; and that I am appointed an avenger, to execute the wrath of God, and a minister of God for this very thing, while I endeavour to restrain, and put an end to such infidelity, feel that I have not sufficient power to effect such, and so great, a work. For the more noble

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<sup>6</sup> Job, xl. 23.



inhabitants of my country have been already withered, by imbibing this poison of infidelity; and a very great multitude of men, falling away from the faith with them, have, in like manner, failed; so that I have not the power to do it, and dare not attempt it. Now, therefore, flying to your help, I implore, with humble devotion of heart, that you would stretch forth the hand of your counsel, and help, with the power of your prayers, for the extirpation of so great an evil of infidelity. For know that this virulent heresy has become so inveterate, that it cannot be extirpated, except by the strong hand, and stretched out arm, of God. For the heads of these persons are as hard as stones; so that 'the sling stones are turned into stubble.' Since, therefore, we know that the power of the spiritual sword is not sufficient to accomplish the extirpation of such great heretical pravity, it is fit that it should be driven out by the attack of the material sword. To perform which, I recommend that the King of France should be brought from your parts; because, I suspect, that these great evils would be put an end to by his presence. To him, in person, I will open the cities, I will place the towns and villages under his authority, I will shew him the heretics, and I will assist him, even unto blood, in any way that he may want my services, for the destruction of the enemies of Christ." *Gerv. inter X. Script. c. 1441.*

Roger de Hoveden tells us, that when that which he calls the Arian heresy, had thus revived in the province of Thoulouse, the Kings of France and England, being excited by zeal for the christian faith, determined to go there in person, and drive out the heretics; but, after a little while, it appeared to them that it would be more

to the purpose<sup>7</sup> to send some wise men, who might convert the heretics by preaching, than to go themselves. They sent, therefore, Peter Cardinal, of the title of St. Chrysogonus, and Legate of the Apostolic See, the Archbishops of Bourges and Narbonne, Reginald Bishop of Bath, John Bishop of Poitiers, and Henry Abbot of Clairvaux, and many other ecclesiastics, that they might either convert the heretics, or, having convicted them of heresy, might excommunicate them. He then goes on to give an account of their proceedings on the occasion ; but, as the Legate and the Abbot, have each left a letter on the subject, it may be most satisfactory, and, I think, most interesting, to give the story as they have related it ; and, as I think that the facts of the case have been misrepresented, and false conclusions have been drawn, from a partial view of these documents, I shall give them at full length. For the sake, however, of making them more intelligible, I shall take the liberty of inverting the order in which Roger de Hoveden has placed them, and give the Abbot's letter first.

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<sup>7</sup> " Videbatur eis plus posse proficere." Milner, in his account of the matter, vol. III. p. 482, says, they "thought it more *prudent* to employ preachers." I suppose there is some meaning in this which I do not discover.



*The Letter of Henry Abbot of Clairvaux, A. D.  
1178.*

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“Hear, O Heaven, our complaint! let the Earth know the groaning of our heart! Let catholic christians lament for the wrongs done to Christ; and let the faithful people mourn over the injuries sustained by the faith. Let all who are of the human kind—of the sons of men—deplore the damage to human salvation, and let the general subversion of that which is our life be generally bewailed by all living!

“There stands up against the armies of Israel, *a new Philistine of our time*; an order of heretics; a host of wicked ones, which irreverently insults the armies of the living God; and, with the highest presumption, blasphemes the God of Majesty himself. Why dost thou doubt, O David? Why dost thou fear, O faithful man? Take to thyself the sling and stone. Immediately shall the blasphemer be smitten in his forehead, and that wicked head, which he has impudently raised, shall be cut off by thy hands, with his own sword. For, if in this contest any part of Christ should be overcome—if even in the least, and in any one point, the mother church should be borne down, we know, for certain, that it is not the merit, but the advocate, of the cause that is deficient. We know that a triumph will not be denied to our champion, if he goes forth to the war, ready to fight for the love of the truth. But since, according to the word of truth, the harvest is great, and the labourers are few, if those who lay waste thy fields, good Jesus! have impudently entered them, like subtle workmen, prepared rather to pluck up what is green, than to gather in what is ripe, and to anticipate, by their tearing up, the day of thy harvest, where are then thy hus-

bandmen, placed over thy field, fertile and beautiful, florid with thy blood, and watered with the blood of thy saints? Let them rise, and help us, and protect us in our need, and oppose themselves as a wall of defence for us against the sanguinary beasts. Rise! I say, rise! men, fathers, leaders of the nations, princes of the people, drive away these evil beasts which we see, which we shew you; or at least it were something to catch the little foxes. But who is sufficient for this? They have no certain place—they walk in circling paths—and, in the labyrinth of their frauds, monsters most cruel lie hid. Like the wild roe, they flee from the hand; and, like the twisted snake, the more firmly they are grasped, the more easily do they escape. Nevertheless, thanks be to God! that although they cannot be taken, they may be driven away, so that when they are no longer supported by that which they could destroy in us, they may be confounded, and perish of themselves. What this is we may easily learn, from what we have seen, and considered; so that, if it has not been already done, we have to deplore, not so much their wickedness as our own deficiency, and the negligence of our own people.

“ For, lately, by the command of our Lord the Pope, and by the exhortations of the most pious princes, Lewis King of France, and Henry King of England, the Lord Peter, Legate of the Apostolic See, and the venerable the Bishops of Poitiers, and Bath, and ourselves with them, went to the city of Thoulouse; which, as it is a city of great population, so it was also said to be the mother of heresy, and chief seat of error. We went, therefore, to it, that we might know whether its evil was according to the cry that had gone up, and behold! its stroke was found to be very great; so that from the sole of the foot, even to the crown of the head, there was scarce any soundness in it. For, truly, even the third part of all its evil abomina-



tion had not been told us, which that noble city cherished, in the bosom of its infidelity. The abomination of desolation had there found itself a place ; and the likeness of the prophetic reptiles had made their home in its dark places. There the heretics held sway among the people, and ruled among the clergy ; so that, as was the people, so was the priest ; and the very life of the pastor was fashioned for the destruction of the flock. (The heretics spoke, and all admired—did a catholic speak, they said, ‘ Who is this ? ’ making it a matter of wonder, and astonishment, if there was any man among them who dared so much as to whisper anything of the word of faith. To such a degree had the pestilence prevailed in the land, that they had not only made to themselves priests, and bishops, but I also add, evangelists ; who, corrupting and cancelling evangelical truth, might frame for them new gospels, and preach new doctrines, out of their own wicked hearts, to the seduced people. I am a liar, if there was not among them, a certain man of great age, large property, encircled by brethren and friends, and in every way a great man, amongst the principal persons of the city, whom, for his sins, the devil had so blinded, that he called himself John the Evangelist ; and separated the Word, which was in the beginning with God, from a certain other Creator of all things, as from another God. He was, in that city, the head of those that perish, and the chief of the heretics ; who, although as a lay and private person, he knew nothing, nevertheless, like a fountain of diabolical wisdom among them, he poured forth bitter waters of death, and perdition. The owls of darkness came to him by night ; and he, clothed in a garment like a tunic, or Dalmatic,<sup>8</sup> when he sat among them,

<sup>8</sup> “ Indumento quodam ad instar tunicæ Dalmaticæque vestitus.”

This garment, so called from the country where it was first used, was worn, not only by Bishops and Priests, but by Kings, and Emperors. See Du Cange, in v. *Dalmatica*.

like a king surrounded by his army, and was the teacher of fools. He had filled almost all the city with his disciples, and his doctrine, as being one whom, on account of his power, none in the city dared to resist.

At our very entrance into the city, such was the insolence of the heretics every where, that when we were going straight-forward through the streets, and squares, they pointed at us, and mocked us with abusive words, crying out that we were apostates, hypocrites, and heretics. In process of time, however, and after we had had a few days' rest, one of us was enjoined to take up the word of exhortation, and to discuss the rule of the true faith before the infidel multitude. This orthodox sermon having been preached to the people, the sinners in Zion were afraid, and fear took hold on the hypocrites; so that those who before stopped the mouths of the speakers, did not now dare to appear before them when they spoke. Hearing, therefore, or rather seeing, that the foxes were transformed into moles, so that those who before publicly went about with impunity, now hid themselves in hollow burrows, and dark places of the earth; and, underground, gnawed and destroyed God's husbandry, which they no longer ventured openly to devour. As also the variegated leopard might betray himself by the spots upon his skin, they guarded their wicked discourse with crafty inventions; so that, being brought to a feigned similitude to our propositions, they might, in set disputation, falsely declare themselves to believe as we do.

"From that day, therefore, the Lord Legate, and we others, who proposed to fight with those wild beasts in public, made it our sole object, and business, to discover those whom, like vile creatures, fear and confusion had driven down into the lowest parts of the earth, that they might be compelled to come forth publicly, and cast off their works of darkness in the light. By command, there-



fore, of the Legate, the Bishops, and some of the clergy, and the Consuls of the city, and other orthodox inhabitants, who had not been suspected of any taint of heresy, took an oath that they would give us the names of all whom they then knew, or should afterwards know, to have been authors, or associates, of this heresy, without sparing any, for love, or money, or any private regard.

“ When, every day, an innumerable multitude was added to the list of this conscription, it happened that, amongst the rest, this great man, Petrus Moranus, whom they called (as we have before said) John the Evangelist, was named; concerning whom, having communicated together, we determined to begin the execution of justice upon him, in order that the multitude, who were heretical in other respects, might be led to fear, when the simplicity of the true gospel should have condemned the craftiness of their false evangelist. Having sent apparitors, therefore, the Count of St. Gilles, who is our faithful associate, commanded him to be brought; but he, trusting in the multitude of his riches, and the number of his relations, avoided this first citation, eluding it by haughty delay. The next day, therefore, the aforesaid Count, using allurement rather than fear, cited the said Peter less formally, by means of his friends, and acquaintance; and, after coaxing and threatening, produced him to us at length, with much difficulty.

“ Then one of us, who was the speaker, began thus to admonish him; ‘ Well now, Peter! your fellow-citizens lay to your charge, that, departing from the rules of the sound faith, you have fallen into the sin of the Arian heresy; and farther, that you lead others, and allow others to lead you, through the devious mazes of diversified error.’ Upon this, sighing deeply, and inwardly touched with grief of heart, he falsely declared, at the outset, that ‘ he was no such sort of person;’ and, being required to confirm this

by an oath, he contended, that, as a man of rank, and credit, he ought to be believed on his simple assertion. However, when we were all equally urgent in requiring an oath, he promised that he would swear directly, lest he should be convicted as a heretic on that point; if, according to the custom which prevailed in his sect, he should obstinately refuse to swear. The relics of the saints, therefore, were presently brought forth with honour, and received with such reverence, and devotion, that the faithful people were moved to tears; and the heretics who had assembled, wished themselves in their hiding places, rather than at such a spectacle. In the canticle which we sang, with many tears, invoking the presence of the Holy Spirit, an evident paleness, and trembling, came upon Peter; so that the colour left his countenance, and the powers of his mind failed. For, when the Holy Spirit came, how should the spirit of his adversary remain within him? The man appeared like one paralysed; and retained neither speech, nor sense, though he was universally said to be a person of such eloquence as that, in that respect, he surpassed all others. What need of many words? The unhappy man, before all, swore to tell the truth of his belief as to all articles of faith on which we should require it. It was a wonderful thing, and, in such a scene, productive of pious joy—the book, on which he had sworn, was open, and one of the bystanders, in a sort of religious pleasantry (*religioso quodam joco*) looking for an omen of the event, from the words which should first occur, fell upon this text of scripture, ‘What have we to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of God? Art thou come to torment us before the time.’ Truly, Lord Jesus! thou hadst nothing to do with those whom thy heavenly father had cut off, as unfruitful branches, from Thee, the True Vine; and had cast them forth that they might wither. But to us, gathered together in thy name, the increase of joy was multiplied;



and the glory of thy power resounded in giving of thanks, with the voice of praise.

“ At length, Peter being simply required, by virtue of his oath, to confess to us without any fraud, his faith concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, did not confess with his mouth unto salvation, that which he did not believe unto righteousness; but, contrary to his intencion of falsifying on all points, he betrayed the truth, and went on to assert, by the new doctrine, that the holy bread of eternal life, consecrated by the ministry of the priest, according to the word of the Lord, is not the body of the Lord. Then all rose up, opposing him as it were by their tears, which were partly drawn from them by the contempt of the Sacraments of Christ, and partly by christian compassion for the miserable man. No more was said; he was delivered to the Count. He was adjudged to be guilty, and a heretic; and, immediately, by the earnest solicitation of his friends, delivered to the public custody. The report of the matter flew through the streets, and squares, of that most extensive city. The mouths of the faithful were opened, and the lips of the catholic people were loosed, to set forth thy praise, O Christ! as if then for the first time, the splendour of the faith broke forth in that city; and it seemed, after long despair, again to breathe with the hope of eternal life. From this time, and forward, the word of God encreased, and multiplied daily; so that the whole face of the city appeared more cheerful as it rose out of the darkness of error, into the clear light of truth. In the mean time, Peter, being come to himself, and being touched when the Lord looked upon him, and perceiving that he was worthy of present, as well as of eternal, death, having sent many mediators, sought an opening for reconoiliation; and made promise of his conversion, that so he might be freed from the destruction then impending, to bring forth the fruits of a better life.

He came—he was received—he stood in the sight of all the sorrowing people, putting off, as it were, the gravity of his former heresy, in the nakedness of his body. There, before all, he confessed himself a heretic. There he gave his hand to the faith. There he renounced his error, taking an oath before all, and giving sureties, as well to the Count himself, as to the soldiers, and to his principal fellow-citizens, that he would submit to the command of the Lord Legate, and obey his orders in all things.

“ Then notice was given to the people to meet the next day, at the church of St. Saturninus, solemnly to hear, and see, what description of penance would be imposed upon the said Peter. On the following day, therefore, being thus directed, so many—such an immense multitude—assembled, that there scarcely remained a vacant place, except at the very horns of the altar, which was reserved that the Lord Legate might celebrate mass, without being overwhelmed by the crowd.

“ And behold ! before that very great multitude, this Peter, now one of us, was brought in naked, and barefoot, through the doors of the church ; the Bishop of Thoulouse, and the Abbot of St. Saturninus, from time to time beating him, until he was placed on the steps of the altar, at the feet of the Legate. There, in the face of the church, he was reconciled with the sacraments of the church, having abjured all heresy, and anathematized heretics.

“ Soon after, his whole possessions having been confiscated, this penance was enjoined him—that, within forty days, he should banish himself from his country, and for the service of the poor should go to Jerusalem, there to remain three years. That, in the mean time, he should make a circuit of all the churches in the city of Thoulouse every Sunday, naked, barefoot, and with the rods of discipline—that he should restore the goods of the church, which he had taken away, make restitution in

all matters of usury in which he had been concerned, make reparation to the poor whom he had injured, and totally destroy a certain castle of his, which he had profaned by assemblies of the heretics. Good God! how many tears were then shed by holy joy! What thanksgivings, and praises, did the devout and jubilant people add to those of the heavenly choirs, when such a mole was brought from the caverns of perfidy, and such a ravening wolf was transformed into one of the sheep of Israel.<sup>9</sup>

"Afterwards, when he was dismissed, the Lord Legate put forth his hand to excommunicate those also, who in great numbers had been indicated to him, either by public suspicion, or private accusation. We, however, when gladness had scarcely sprung up after our tears, having asked permission to return home (for the urgent request of our chapter required it) obtained leave on this condition only; that we would go to the diocese of Albi, to admonish the prince of the country—namely, Roger of Beders—to release the Bishop of Albi, whom he held in chains, under the custody of the heretics; and to cleanse his whole country by driving out the heretics, according to the command of the Lord Legate. We, therefore, with the aforesaid Bishop of Bath, went to that most abandoned country; which, like a sink of iniquity, had received the whole filth of the heresy which had flowed into it. The aforesaid Roger had departed into the most distant, and inaccessible, parts of his country; flying, as well by reason of an evil

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<sup>9</sup> The account of the whole matter given by Roger de Hoveden, seems to be chiefly, and indeed almost entirely, taken from this and the following letter. The only additional circumstance which I have observed, is, that if Peter returned after his three years service in Jerusalem, he was to be reinstated in his possessions, (except the castle which was to be destroyed) on payment of 500 pounds of Silver, to his Lord, the Count of Thoulouse.



conscience, as because he justly despaired of his cause. For this author of wickedness hated the light of truth; and, having altogether given himself up to the works of darkness, he could not bear that we should be admitted to conference with him. We came, nevertheless, to a certain castle of his, which was very strongly fortified; and which the inhabitants particularly, and specially, called by the name of the Castle. There lived his wife, with a large body of soldiers, and a very numerous family. Almost all the inhabitants of this castle were either heretics, or associates of the heretics; yet, though repressed only by the Divine Power, they did not presume even so much as to whisper anything against the faith which we preached. For although we were placed in their hands, and, as it were, in the bonds of their power, being surrounded on every side by the heretical multitude, nevertheless the word of God was not bound; but, we attacked them with continual invectives, and rebukes. Moreover, when we saw that they did not presume to make any answer whatever, we adjudged the aforesaid Roger to be a traitor, a heretic, and (as concerning the violated security of the Bishop) a perjured person; and confidently challenged him in the name of Christ, as one condemned by a public excommunication, on the part of the Lord Pope, and the aforesaid Kings, in the presence of his wife, and of his soldiers.

“ See now from this, how evidently it appears, how great, and manifest, a door is opened for christian princes to avenge the injuries of Christ, and to make the desert like the garden of the Lord, and the solitary places thereof like the delights of Paradise. Lest, however, it should be objected, that little or nothing can be done against them, let all persons know, that it was the common opinion of the city of Thoulouse, that, if that visitation had been delayed for three years, there would scarcely have been found anybody there who would have called upon the



name of Christ. Upon all this, however, the aforesaid Count of St. Gilles declared, with an oath, before all the people of the city, that he would not favour the heretics, either for love or money."

*The Letter of the Cardinal Legate, on the same subject.*

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"Peter, by the grace of God, Cardinal Priest of the title of St. Chrysogonus, Legate of the Apostolic See, to all the sons of the holy mother church, keeping the catholic and apostolic faith, health in the Lord!

"The Apostle witnesses, that as there is one God, so there is one faith, to be acknowledged; from the integrity of which, none can depart without danger. The foundation whereof (beside which none can lay any other) the apostles, and the apostolical men who succeeded them, by the inspiration, and teaching, of the Holy Spirit, laid so firmly and circumspectly, with sound doctrines as with living stones, that neither the force of the noisy tempest, nor the engines of the wicked, though brought against it with frequent assaults, have been able to shake it. Wherefore, although *in these days*, certain false brethren, namely, Raymond de Baimiaco, Bernard, the son of Raymond, and certain other heresiarchs (transforming themselves into angels of light, while they are of the devil) before now teaching things contrary to the christian and apostolic faith, have deceived the minds of many by their venomous preaching, and drawn them with themselves to ruin; yet at length he who reveals mysteries, and who gave spirit to Daniel to confute the elders of Israel, looking down on the souls deceived by the Devil, would not allow their perfidy to remain concealed; nor the purity of the christian faith, to

be corrupted by their preaching; but, by his admirable power, in the sight and hearing of many, exposed the poison of their perfidy before concealed, for the increase, and joy, of the christian faith. When, therefore, the aforesaid Raymond, and Bernard, and others, came before our venerable brother, Reginald, Bishop of Bath, and the noble persons, the Viscount of Turenne, and Raymond of Castelnau, who, by our advice, had come into the country of Roger of Bediers, for the liberation of our venerable brother, the Bishop of Albi; and confessed themselves, to have been unjustly treated, by the noble person the Count of Thoulouse, and other Barons, who had abjured them for ever—when, for defence of their faith, they proposed to come before us, if they could have security for coming and returning, the aforesaid Bishop, and Viscount, (lest the minds of the simple, who had been imbued with their false doctrine, should suffer offence, and ascribe it to our diffidence, if we should deny them an audience) did on our behalf, and that of the aforesaid Viscount, consent to their request; so that, with all security, they might come before us, and our venerable brother, the Bishop of Poitiers, Legate of the Apostolic See, and other discreet persons, and in presence of the whole people; and that they might be tried whether they believed rightly, and soundly. And that, after being examined by us, they should, in any case, be allowed to return home safely; lest they should seem to be induced to a confession of the true faith by fear, or any kind of violence. It being, however, understood that, after the eight days, specified in the edict which had been published, should have elapsed, they should, unless they returned to our faith, be expelled from the countries of those princes who had abjured them. We, therefore, in pursuance of the indulgence granted to them by the Bishop, and the Viscount, (although, as we have said, an edict had already been issued by the said

Count of Thoulouse, and other noblemen, to expel them from their countries) enjoined them, which the said Bishop of Poitiers and Count of Thoulouse, and others of the clergy and laity, to the number of about three hundred, had assembled with us in the church of St. Stephen, to explain to us their opinions; and, returning to the truth of the catholic faith, to remove, by a wholesome confession of it, that infamy which the whole country, as well as themselves, had incurred by their pernicious preaching. They, however, among other words, which came from one and another, put in a certain document, in which they had written the articles of their faith; and, when they had read it at full length, as we discovered certain words which appeared suspicious, and which, without further explanation, might conceal the heresy which they had preached, we requested that they would defend their faith, making their answers in latin; as well because their language was not sufficiently understood by us, as because the Gospels, and Epistles, by which alone they desired to prove their faith, are known to be written in that language. When, however, they would not venture to attempt this, for they were entirely ignorant of the latin language—as appeared by the words of one of them, who, when he would have spoken latin, could scarcely put two words together, and entirely failed—it was necessary for us to condescend on account of their ignorance, and (though it was absurd enough) to hold a discourse on the sacraments of the church in the vulgar tongue.

They, therefore, denying the doctrine of two principles before us, and the aforesaid persons, confessed and stoutly maintained, that one Most High God created all things, visible and invisible; and this (it being indeed the truth) they proved by passages from the Gospels, and Epistles. They confessed also, that one of our priests, good or bad, just or unjust, and even such as they knew



undoubtedly to be an adulterer, or otherwise criminal, could make the body and blood of Christ; and that by the ministry of such a priest, and by the power of the divine words uttered by our Lord, the bread and wine were truly transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ. They asserted, also, that children, and adults, baptized with our baptism, are saved; and, that without that same baptism, none can be saved; altogether denying that they had another baptism, or imposition of hands, as was laid to their charge. They affirmed, moreover, that a man, and woman, joined in marriage, are saved (unless other sin prevent) although they are carnally united; being excused, by the benefit of marriage, and that they are not damned on that account. Also, they said that Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Monks, Canons, Hermits, Templars and Hospitalers, would be saved. They said too, that it was right, and proper, that they should visit, with the highest devotion, churches that were founded in honour of God, and of the Saints; and that they ought to pay tithes, and first-fruits, shewing honour and reverence, to the priests, and other ministers of such churches; and to answer devoutly, and faithfully, concerning all parochial matters. Also, among other things, they laudably asserted, that alms were due to the church, to the poor, and to Almighty God. All these things, though they had been charged with denying them, they affirmed that they understood, according to our right understanding of them.

“After they had been thus examined by us, and had confessed what we have stated, of their own free will, we went to the church of St. James; where an innumerable multitude of people had come together, as if prepared for a spectacle; and heard, in the vulgar tongue, that confession of their faith which was written in the document already mentioned. Moreover, when they had been heard by us, and by all the people, who had assembled there, with



all patience, and without any disturbance, and had, of their own accord, ceased to speak, forasmuch as their confession of faith seemed to be sufficiently laudable, and catholic, we again asked them, in the hearing of all the people, if they believed with the heart, what they had confessed with the mouth? and whether they had at any time, as had been often laid to their charge, preached that which was contrary?

“ They, however, replying that they did so believe; and totally denying, that they had preached otherwise, the noble person, the Count of Thoulouse, and many other of the clergy, and laity, who had heard them preaching otherwise, being moved with great astonishment, and instigated by zeal for the christian faith, rose up, and manifestly convicted them of falsehood. For some constantly declared, that they had heard from some of them, that there were two Gods, one good and the other evil—that, the good one, had made only the things invisible, and such as were not changeable, or corruptible; the evil one, had made heaven and earth, mankind, and all visible things. Others affirmed, that in their preaching they had heard, that the body of Christ could not be made by the ministry of an unworthy priest, or one involved in any crimes. Many, in like manner, testified that they had heard them altogether denying that a man and wife could be saved,) if they were carnally united. Others, firmly withstood them to the face, that they had heard from themselves, that Baptism did not profit children; and had heard them bring forth many other blasphemies against God, and the Holy Church, and the catholic faith, which for their abominable enormity, we had rather pass over in silence than relate. Whatever there might be in the above confession (which appeared to be sufficient for salvation, if they had thus believed with the heart, unto righteousness, and had spoken in the heart, and from the heart) yet, like men of per-

verted mind, and crooked purpose, they would not leave their heresy, where the first view of a certain passage appeared, to favour their dull, and stupid, understanding, by reason of those words, which our Lord is recorded in the Gospel to have spoken, ‘swear not at all;’ and ‘let your communication be yea, yea, and nay, nay;’ saying, that they ought not to swear. Whereas, God Himself, is often said to have sworn; as it is written, ‘the Lord hath sworn,’ &c.; and elsewhere ‘by Myself have I sworn, saith the Lord;’ and the Apostle says ‘an oath is the end of all controversy.’ And many things of this sort offer themselves in reading the scriptures, by which, on account of the infirmity of those whom we would convince of any matter, we are permitted to swear.

“Moreover, these persons, like simple men, not understanding the scriptures, fell into the snare which they had laid; because, though they had before expressed their abhorrence of an oath, as a thing execrable, and forbidden by God, they were convicted of having sworn, in the very document of their confession, when they said, ‘In truth, which God is, we thus believe, and declare that this is our faith;’ not knowing that to adduce the truth, and word, of God, in testimony of our assertion, is, beyond all doubt, swearing; as we read of the Apostle, when he said ‘This I say unto you, in the word of the Lord’—elsewhere, ‘God is my witness’—other similar things also concur to prove this; which, by those who have read, and understand, the scriptures, may be easily found.

When, however, they had been convicted by many and sufficient witnesses, and many more were ready to give evidence against them, forasmuch as the church is not wont to refuse her bosom of mercy to those who desire to return, we diligently admonished them, that, laying aside all heretical pravity, they should return to the unity of the faith; and that since, on account of their perverse

preaching, and sect, they had been excommunicated by the Lord Pope, and our venerable brethren, the Archbishops of Bourges, and Narbonne, and the Bishop of Thoulouse, and by ourselves, they should come to us to be reconciled, according to the form of the church. But, when they, turning aside like a broken bow, and hardened in their abandoned disposition, refused to do this, we, together with the aforesaid Bishop of Poitiers, and the other ecclesiastics, who were engaged with us, in the whole affair, having lighted candles, and in the sight of all the people, who continually clamoured and raged against them with great fury, again denounced them as excommunicate, and condemned them, and their author the Devil.

“ For these reasons, we admonish you all, and exhort you in the Lord, and enjoin upon you, for the remission of your sins, that, as to the said Raymond, and Bernard, and their associates, you should carefully avoid them, as persons excommunicate, and delivered over unto Satan ; and that, if they shall presume to preach anything else than that which (as we have already written) they confessed in our presence, you should reject it as false, and contrary to the Apostolic faith, and should drive them far away, from association with your integrity, and from your country, as heretics, and precursors of Antichrist.”

It appears to me, as I have already stated, that the facts related in these letters have been misrepresented ; and that false conclusions have been drawn from them.

That the reader may judge, let him turn to Milner's account of this business.<sup>10</sup> He professes

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<sup>10</sup> Vol. iii. p. 483.

to have derived his information from Baronius, "a very determined enemy of the Waldenses;" and he tells us, that "the account of our English historian, Hoveden, is similar to that of Baronius." This is not to be wondered at, as the account of Baronius is merely, and professedly, an extract from Hoveden's Annals; but it does not appear to me to warrant Milner's statement, on one very important point. He says, that, after the condemnation of Peter Moranus, "many others abjured their heresies; but some, refusing to take the oaths of *subjection*, were excommunicated." It may suit the character of the Witnesses, to put the matter in this light; but, I apprehend, it is done at the expense of truth; for I cannot find that they were required to take any "oaths of subjection." From the foregoing letters, indeed, it does not clearly appear what was the nature of the oath required of these persons; though we might guess, from what took place on other similar occasions. At the Council of Lombards, of which we have just had an account, the heretics were called upon to swear that they believed as they professed;" the same had just been required from Peter

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<sup>11</sup> See before, p. 144, "Interrogavit etiam eos Episcopus prædictus, si jurarent se tenere fidem istam et credere."



Moranus;<sup>12</sup> and we might naturally suppose (especially as we see that the Cardinal did not give them credit for sincerity in their confession) that it was a similar oath which was required from these persons. Indeed, Roger de Hoveden (to whom we are indebted for the letters, and who is, I believe, the only authority on the subject) expressly says that it was so—that the Cardinal, and Bishops, “directed that they should “swear that they believed with the heart, what “they had confessed with the mouth.”<sup>13</sup> It is evident, I think, that when their examiners found these alleged heretics, making a confession, which appeared to them (as the Cardinal himself expresses it) “sufficiently laudable and catholic,” they suspected them of dissimulation; and, indeed, I do not see how those who look upon them as the Witnesses, can avoid admitting that they made a confession highly agreeable to Antichrist; and only incurred his displeasure, because they would not confirm it with an oath. If Antichrist persecuted these Witnesses, it was not because he disapproved of their testimony; but, because he did not give them credit for believing it themselves.

In fact, this document, if it proves anything,

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<sup>12</sup> See before, p. 156.

<sup>13</sup> “Præceperunt, quod ipsi jurassent se ita corde credere, sicut ore confitebantur.” p. 238.

proves too much; for (to say nothing of "subjection," or any other point) the heretics expressly declared their belief in the doctrine of *transubstantiation*, as held by their judges. After Peter Moranus had just been condemned on that very point, can we doubt that it was closely pressed, and explicitly answered? Indeed, looking at the whole matter, in what one point of view do these alleged heretics, appear as witnesses against the false doctrines of the Papacy, or as champions of any one truth that was not maintained by the church of Rome? "They answered," says Roger de Hoveden, "concerning *all the articles of faith*, as soundly, and circumspectly, as if they had been most christian people."<sup>14</sup> Truly, it seems that the Cardinal, and his companions, thought so. Did these Witnesses say an offensive word, about the arrogant folly—the impious usurpation—of him who called himself Christ's Vicar on earth? a word about the worship of saints and images? about the fiction of purgatory, or the idolatry of the mass? Strange witnesses!

Yet, if we suspect them of dissembling, we are charged with wronging good men; and that too, most inexcusably, when we have such authentic documents as the Waldensian records

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<sup>14</sup> "De articulis fidei Christianæ examinati, responderunt super omnibus articulis fidei ita sane et circumspecte ac si Christianissimi essent."



before us. Milner thus lectures Mr. Berington :  
“ on this occasion, I cannot but disapprove of the  
“ rashness or the prejudices of an able historian,  
“ who has already fallen under our notice. He  
“ says, that the Albigenses, being examined, de-  
“ nied the Manichean doctrine of the two prin-  
“ ciples, though charged on that account with  
“ falsehood by their enemies : and this author  
“ believes these same enemies, who gave no proof  
“ of sincerity, that we know of, and accuses the  
“ Albigenses of dissimulation, though such num-  
“ bers of them were suffering continually for their  
“ principles. The man, who undertakes to be  
“ an historian, ought to be acquainted with the  
“ writings and evidences which are produced on  
“ both sides of a controverted subject, so far as  
“ materials can be procured. If the author before  
“ us had read with the least attention the Wal-  
“ densian records, he would never have asserted,  
“ that the Waldenses were legitimate descendants  
“ of the sect of Manes.” Vol. III. p. 484.

Whether Mr. Berington charges the *Waldenses* with being descendants of the sect of Manes, or whether Milner only means that he brings that charge against persons, whom he does himself call Waldenses, I do not know ; for I have not the opportunity of referring to his book ; but I must remind the reader, that I bring no such charge against the Waldenses ; and that, although (as I cannot be responsible for the lan-

guage of others) the name of *Waldenses* may have been used in reference to this business, I believe it had no more to do with them, than it had with the Brahmins of India.

As to Mr. Berington's accusing the Albigenes of dissimulation, I have already said, that it seems to me to be the only way by which their friends can clear them of being part and parcel of Antichrist; and as to the proof of their sincerity, it may suit the character of witnesses prophesying in sackcloth, to say that "*such numbers* of them were *continually* suffering for their 'principles;'" but is it true that they were so suffering? Count Raymond's letter gives rather a different view of the matter; and the Abbot Henry represents them as the dominant power in Thoulouse.<sup>15</sup> Had Milner got any other "original records," whereby to refute the "modern historian," except the "Waldensian records?" and would not they, in his estimation, convict these persons of most grievous falsehood, in professing their belief of the popish doctrine of transubstantiation? Had he any "original records" of the persecutions in which such members were "continually suffering" for a faith which (unless they belied it) was considered "sufficiently laudable, and catholic," by their enemies? If he had, I wish he had referred to them.

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<sup>15</sup> "Principabantur in populo, dominabantur in clero."



But Mr. Berington “believes these same “enemies, who gave no proof of their sincerity “that we know of.” I really do not know what Milner means, by their “sincerity.” Does he mean to doubt, that they were sincere, in their belief of the popish principles, which they professed? or that they could be suspected of any insincerity at all analogous to that which has been (whether justly or not) charged on these Albigenes? I think that could not be his meaning. Does he mean then, that, being persons of whose love of truth we have no proof, we ought not to believe what they say? This, to be sure, is going a good way, and looks a little like prejudice; but suppose that, for sake of argument, we grant it; what would he have us *disbelieve*? Did he think their letters, a mere romance, and that they never went to Thoulouse at all? No—he believes “the account of the barbarous treatment of the rich old gentleman of Toulouse,” which “confirms the truth of Perrin’s narrative “of the like persecutions, and demonstrates, from “the testimony even of Roman writers, that the “horrors of papal tyranny, have not been misrepresented in general, by protestant authors”—Well, then, so far, we are to believe—and, I repeat, what does he want us to disbelieve? Is it the fact, that these persons made any confession at all, or that they made *such* a confession as their enemies record, or that, having made such

a confession, they were dealt with as their enemies represent? Does he mean that these Albigenes made a truly protestant confession, "testifying against the demonolatrous apostacy," and that their false enemies, instead of ordering them off to the stake, told them it was sufficiently laudable, and catholic; and contented themselves, with excommunicating them, because they would not swear?

Or, by "their enemies," does he mean the Count of Thoulouse, and the others, who confronted them? They "gave no proof of sincerity, *that we know of*"—Well, but on the other hand, do "we know of" any reason why they should bring such charges against innocent persons, who, *really held* such purely popish opinions as these persons professed? Why should they persecute people who were as good papists as themselves?

In short, if we believe their enemies, they were Manicheans—if we believe themselves, they were Papists—which are we to believe? perhaps, as we are not called upon immediately to decide, it may be as well to suspend our belief of either party, until we have made some farther progress in our enquiry.

*Council of Lateran III. A. D. 1179.*

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Matthew Paris, on this year, speaks of this Council, as being (among other things) concerning the Albigensian heretics, and their various names—"de hæreticis Albegensibus et diversis eorum appellationibus."

The name of Albigenses, does not, however, occur in the acts of the Council; but, as some names which I have noticed, or shall have occasion to notice, are mentioned in the twenty-seventh canon, I shall extract it: and it is all that I find in that Council, which is to our present purpose.

"Can. xxvii. Although, as the blessed Leo says, the ecclesiastical discipline, content with sacerdotal judgment, takes no sanguinary vengeance, it is, nevertheless, assisted by the laws of Catholic Princes; that men may be led to seek their eternal salvation, by the fear of being visited, with temporal punishment. Therefore, since in Gascony, the Albigensis, and the parts about Thoulouse, and in other places, the damnable error of the heretics, whom some call CATHARI, others PATRINI, and others PUBLICANI, and others by other names, has so prevailed, that they do not now, like some others, carry on their mischief secretly, but publicly display their error, and draw to an agreement with them, the simple, and the weak. We decree that they and their defenders, and those who receive them, do lie under an anathema; and, under pain of anathema, we forbid all persons, from presuming to keep or harbour them



in their houses, or on their land, or to have any dealings with them. Moreover, if they shall die in this sin, there shall not, under any pretence of privileges, granted by us, to any one, in the way of indulgence, be any offering made for them, nor shall they receive christian burial."<sup>16</sup>

*Decree of Pope Lucius III. A. D. 1183.*

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This decree is worth reading, on several accounts; and not least so, because it seems to have laid the foundation, and marked out the plan, of the Inquisition. It is as follows—

“ In order to put an end to the evil of various heresies which has begun to break forth in modern times (*modernis cœpit temporibus pullulare*) in most parts of the world, the power of the church ought to be aroused; when, indeed, with the sanction of imperial power, both the insolence of heretics, in their attempts to promote falsehood, may be put down, and the truth of Catholic unity, shining forth in the Holy Church, may display her, free from all charge of false doctrine.

“ We, therefore, supported by the power, and presence, of our most dear son Frederic, the illustrious Emperor of the Romans, semper Augustus, with the common consent of our brethren, and of other Patriarchs, Archbishops, and many Princes, who have assembled from various parts of the world, have, with the general sanction of this present decree, risen up against those heretics, to whom divers names have ascribed the profession of vari-

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<sup>16</sup> Conc. x. 1523.



ous errors, and, by the tenor of this constitution, with apostolical authority, we condemn all heresy, howsoever it may be named.

“ In the first place, therefore we lay under a perpetual anathema, the CATHARI, PATARINI, and those who falsely call themselves HUMILIATI, OR POOR MEN OF LYONS, PASSAGINI, JOSEPINI, and ARNALDISTÆ; and since some, having a form of godliness, but, as the apostle has said, denying the power of it, have assumed to themselves the office of preaching—though the same Apostle says, ‘ how shall they preach, except they be sent ?’—we include, in the same perpetual anathema, all who shall have presumed to preach, either publicly, or privately, either being forbidden, or not sent, or not having the authority of the Apostolic See, or of the Bishop of the diocese; and, also, all who presume to think, or to teach, concerning the Sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, or of Baptism, or of the Remission of Sins, or of Matrimony, or of the other Sacraments of the Church, otherwise, than as the Holy Roman Church teaches and observes; and, generally, all persons whom the said Roman Church, or the individual Bishops in their dioceses, with the concurrence of their clergy, or the clergy themselves, if the see be vacant, with the consent, if need be, of the neighbouring Bishops, shall have adjudged to be heretics.

“ And we decree, that their receivers, and defenders, and, in like manner, all who shew any countenance, or favour, to the aforesaid heretics, to encourage them in their heretical pravity—whether they be *consolati*, or *credentes*, or *perfecti*, or by whatever superstitious names they may be called, shall be subjected to a similar sentence.

“ Since, however, it sometimes happens, that the severity of ecclesiastical discipline which is required by offences, may be condemned by those who do not under-

stand its benefits, we farther decree, by this present ordinance, that, whosoever shall be manifestly convicted of the errors aforesaid, if he be a clerk, or in any pretended Holy Orders, shall be stripped of all the prerogatives of the ecclesiastical order; and being thus deprived of all ecclesiastical office, as well as privilege, he shall be left to the discretion of the secular power, to receive due punishment; unless, immediately after the detection of his error, he shall consent, voluntarily to return to the unity of the catholic faith, and publicly to abjure his error, as the Bishop of the diocese shall direct, and shall make such satisfaction as shall be fitting. A layman, however, to whom the guilt of the aforesaid pests shall, either publicly or privately, attach, (unless, as before said, he immediately returns to the orthodox faith, abjuring his heresy, and making satisfaction) shall be left to the discretion of the secular judge, to receive due punishment, according to the nature of his offence.

“ Those who shall be found to be only suspected by the church, shall be subjected to a like sentence, unless they shall demonstrate their innocence by a sufficient proof, at the discretion of the Bishop, according to the nature of the suspicion, and the quality of the person. Those, however, who, after the abjuration of error, or after they have (as we have said) cleared themselves under the examination of their own Bishop, shall be convicted of having relapsed into their abjured heresy, we decree to be left to the secular judgment, without any farther hearing; and that the goods of the condemned persons shall be applied to the service of those churches to which they belong, under proper regulations.

“ Moreover, we decree that the aforesaid excommunication, under which we desire that all heretics should lie, shall be renewed by all Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Bishops, on the principal festivals, and as often as public

solemnities, or any other occasion, shall offer, for the glory of God, and the rebuke of heresy; ordaining, by apostolical authority, that, if any member of the episcopal order shall be found negligent, or slothful, in this matter, he shall be considered as suspended from his episcopal dignity, and ministry, for the space of three years.

“ To these things we add, with the concurrence of the Bishops, and by the suggestion of the Emperor and his Princes, that every Archbishop or Bishop, by himself, or his Archdeacon, or by other trustworthy and fit persons, shall twice, or once, in the year, go round any parish in which it shall have been reported that heretics reside; and there call upon three or more persons of good credit, or, if it seem expedient, on the whole neighbourhood, to take an oath, that if any one shall know that there are heretics in the place, or any persons holding secret conventicles, or differing in life and manners from the common conversation of the faithful, he will make it his business to point them out to the Bishop or Archdeacon. Moreover, the Bishop, or Archdeacon, shall cite the accused to appear before him, who, unless they shall clear themselves from the charges brought against them to their satisfaction, according to the custom of the country—or if, after such clearance, they shall relapse into their error, they shall be punished by the judgment of the Bishop. If, however, any of them, through damnable superstition, denying the lawfulness of oaths, shall refuse to swear, they are, from that very circumstance, to be adjudged heretics, and to be subjected to the punishment aforesaid.

“ Moreover, we ordain that Counts, Barons, Rectors, Consuls of Cities, and other places, being called upon by the Archbishops and Bishops, shall bind themselves with an oath, that, in all the matters aforesaid, they will stoutly and effectually aid the church against heretics, and their associates, when they shall be called upon so to do; and will,



bona fide, endeavour, according to their office and power, to put in execution the ecclesiastical, and, at the same time, imperial, statutes of which we have spoken. If, however, they fail to observe this, let them be deprived of that honour which they possess; and on no account be raised to any other; their persons being bound by excommunication, and their lands subjected to an interdict. Also, let any city which shall think fit to resist these decretal ordinances, or which, when called upon by the Bishop, shall neglect to punish those who do so, be cut off from intercourse with other cities, and understand that it is deprived of its episcopal dignity.

“We also decree, that all favourers of heretics, as being condemned to perpetual infamy, are not to be admitted as advocates, and witnesses, or to other public offices. If, however, there should be any who, being exempt from the controul of diocesan jurisdiction, are subject only to the authority of the Apostolic See, let them, with regard to all matters hereinbefore ordained respecting heretics, submit to the judgments of the Archbishops and Bishops, and obey them on this behalf, as Legates of the Roman See, notwithstanding their privileges of exemption.<sup>17</sup>

*The Edict of Ildephonsus, King of Arragon.*

A. D. 1194.

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I only know this Letter by Allix's translation, which I give, as it stands at p. 285 of his book on the churches of Piedmont. I extract it

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<sup>17</sup> Conc. x. 1737.



principally because it is the earliest document in which I can find the name of *Waldenses*; and it seems to furnish an answer to those who tell us, that the enemies of that sect changed the name *Vallensis* into *Valdensis*, in order to make it appear that they were followers of Waldo. According to Mr. Faber,<sup>18</sup> however, Peter Waldo had been dead only about two years when this edict was published against a sect already called *Waldenses*, and identified by their other title of *Poor of Lyons*. The reader will also observe that it is entirely *Waldensian*—that is, it says nothing of Cathari, Patrini, Passagini, &c. nothing of *consolation*, *imposition*, and other matters, of which he has heard something already, and will soon hear more—nothing that looks towards Manicheism—in short, nothing Albigensian.

“ Ildephonsus, by the grace of God, King of Arragon, Earl of Barcelona, Marquess of Provence, to all Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates of the Church of God, Earls, Viscounts, Knights, and to all people of his kingdom, or belonging to his dominions, wisheth health, and the sound observance of christian religion.

“ Forasmuch as it has pleased God to set us over his people, it is but fit and just, that according to our might we should be continually solicitous for the welfare and defence of the same; wherefore we, in imitation of our ancestors, and obedience to the canons, which determine and ordain heretics, as persons cast out from the sight of God and all catholics, to be condemned and persecuted

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<sup>18</sup> Sac. Cal. III. 25.

every where; do command and charge the WALDENSES, INZABBATI, who otherwise are called the POOR OF LYONS, and all other heretics, who cannot be numbered, being excommunicated from the holy church, adversaries to the cross of Christ, violaters and corrupters of the christian religion, and the avowed enemies of us and our kingdom, to depart out of our kingdom, and all our dominions. Whosoever, therefore, from this day forwards, shall presume to receive the said *Waldenses* and *Zapatati*, or any other heretics, of whatsoever profession, into their houses, or to be present at their pernicious sermons, or to afford them meat, or any other favour, shall incur, thereby, the indignation of Almighty God, as well as ours, and have his goods confiscated, without the remedy of an appeal, and be punished as if he were actually guilty of high treason. And we strictly charge and command, that this, our edict and perpetual constitution be publicly read on the Lord's days by the Bishops and other Rectors of churches, in all the cities, castles, and towns of our kingdom, and throughout all our dominions: and that the same be observed by Vicars, Bailiffs, Justices, Merins, and Zenalmedins, and all the people in general; and the aforesaid punishment be inflicted upon all transgressors.

“ We will further, that if any person, noble or ignoble, shall in any part of our dominions find any of these wicked wretches, who shall be known to have had three days' notice of our edict, that do not forthwith depart, but rather obstinately staying or lingering, shall any way plague, despitefully use, or distress them, (wounding unto death, and maiming of them only excepted) he will, in so doing, act nothing but what will be very grateful and pleasing to us, and shall be so far from fearing to incur any penalty thereby, that he may be sure rather to deserve our favour. Furthermore, we do afford to these wicked miscreants respite (though this may in some sort seem con-

trary to our duty and reason) till the day after All Saints' day; but that all those who either shall not be gone by that time, or at least preparing for their departure, shall be spoiled, beaten, cudgelled, and shamefully and ill-treated."

*Council of Montpellier.* A. D. 1195.

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In this council, convened by Michael, Legate of the Apostolic See, the only part worth extracting is the statement that after the other things which had engaged his attention and that of the Council,—

" "He added last of all, that because in many places of the province of Narbonne there were heretics, it should be taken into consideration of the Archbishops and Bishops, in what manner Interdicts should be issued on account of the transgression of former ordinances; lest, by a general and long interdict, occasion should be given to the heretics for seducing the simple from the catholic faith." <sup>19</sup>

*Constitutions of Odo, Bishop of Paris.* A. D. 1196.

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I notice the 43rd constitution of chapter VIII. because I would not appear to pass it by—it is as follows, "Let them," that is, the priests, "ear-

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<sup>19</sup> Conc. x. 1796.

“ nestly and constantly admonish their parishioners to exert themselves against the Albigensian heretics, and they shall again have the same indulgence which they before had.” This is surely language of a later period—but I put it under this year, because Cossart does so (Conc. x. 1810) and corrects Baronius who had made these Constitutions still older.

*Council of Sens.* A. D. 1198.

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I find no account of this Council except that which is given from the Chronicle of Robert, Monk of St. Marianus, of Auxerre;<sup>20</sup> and which is as follows, “ A. D. 1198, the Publican heresy (hæresis Populicana) the sink of all heresies at this time propagated its virulent roots; widely, indeed, but secretly. In the city of Nismes, the Abbot of St. Martin, and the Dean of the greater Church, being denounced as infected with this pestilent error, were brought before a council, convened at Sens; and there, the Abbot being deposed, and the Dean suspended, they were delivered over to the Apostolic See.” I mention it here, however, because there are two letters of Pope Innocent,<sup>21</sup> which relate to the

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<sup>20</sup> Conc. xi. P. i. col. 3.    <sup>21</sup> Lib. ii. Ep. 63, 99. Ed. Baluz.



matter; though they throw but little light on the nature of the heresy, and give it no name. In the second, which is addressed to the Cardinal Legate, and Odo Bishop of Paris, the Pope speaks of his having been then informed, by a letter from the Archbishop of Sens, and by his messengers, that the heresy had spread in those parts of France which had been before free; for that on his coming to a city called Charité, in which many of those heretics were said to be hidden, being asked by the Bishop of Auxerre (in whose diocese it was) he investigated the matter; and found that Raynald, Abbot of St. Martin's of Nismes, and many others, were publicly charged with it. The attestations, however, the Pope complains, had not been sent to him, and he states that he had been made acquainted with only two important points of heresy, which seemed to have been sufficiently proved. One of these was, that the consecrated wafer being eaten, passed through the same changes as common food; and the other that, according to the opinion of Origen, all mankind would ultimately be saved.<sup>22</sup>

I may add that this Pope, whose "unexcep-

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<sup>22</sup> "Duo gravia satis probata esse videntur: videlicet  
"eum serio et assertive dixisse disputando, et defendendo  
"hæreticorum errorem, quod corpus Domini mittitur in  
"secessum: et juxta verbum Origenis omnes tandem fore  
"salvandos."

tionable contemporary evidence" is appealed to by Mr. Faber (Vol. III. p. 45) certainly was not one of those "best informed Romanists" who did not venture to limit the antiquity of the Albigensian sect. He begins this letter by saying, "What we have read as prophecy in the "Apocalypse, we now see fulfilled, for the locusts "have come forth from the smoke of the bottomless pit," &c."

*Letter of Innocent III. A. D. 1198.*

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This letter would be scarcely worth referring to, if it had not been cited as saying much more than it really does.

Mr. Faber, speaking of the Albigenses and Waldenses, and of the junction, which, from misunderstanding the document of the Inquisitor, he supposes to have taken place between those sects, says, (I give his own capitals and italics) "Both ALIKE must clearly have been either "*friendly* or *hostile* to the Manichean system: "for, otherwise, the Albigenses could never have "been received as brethren by the Vallenses, "nor could an union of the two churches have

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<sup>22</sup> "Quod legimus in Apocalypsi prædictum, ecce "nunc videmus impletum, quia de fumo putei abyssi exierunt locustæ," &c.

“ been forthwith effected, without the intervention  
“ of a single recorded doctrinal impediment.  
“ Such is the necessary inference from this re-  
“ markable *fact* : and it is expressly corroborated  
“ by the unexceptionable contemporary evidence  
“ of Pope Innocent the Third. In the year  
“ 1198, this Pontiff addressed a letter to the  
“ Bishops of southern France and northern  
“ Spain, where the persecuted and maligned Al-  
“ bigenses had many followers : and, in this letter,  
“ he declares, that the Vallenses and the Albi-  
“ genses were equally heretics, because they  
“ maintained the *very same* doctrinal system.”  
Vol. III. p. 45.

I wish Mr. Faber had supported this asser-  
tion by quoting the Pope's words ; but, instead  
of this, he refers to Allix, who had cited the  
letter, to shew that the Pope considered both  
the Albigenses and Waldenses as heretics ; and  
who unwarrantably (though not in such strong  
language as Mr. Faber's) adds as “being engaged  
in the same doctrine.” I see nothing in the letter  
which can give the slightest colour to such a  
statement, except that the Pope uses the figure  
relating to Samson's foxes, which has been al-  
ready explained. In fact, he begins his letter  
by complaining of the heretics ;—“ *diversas sibi*  
“ *Ecclesias, immo potius Sathanæ synagogas con-*  
“ *fingunt.*”

I must again remark (as to antiquity) that



the Pope introduces his notice of the Valdenses, Catari, and Patareni, with a reference to the prediction that, in the latter times, some should depart from the faith; and speaks of these heretics as fulfilling the prediction.

*Letter of Pope Innocent III. A. D. 1207.*

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It appears from this letter, addressed to the faithful in those parts, that the heresy of the Patarenes was then eminent in Viterbo. The author of the *Gesta Innocentii* (No. cxxiii. p. 79.) tells us that the Pope went there; and, having convoked the Bishop and clergy, set on foot a diligent enquiry after the heretics; and issued what that writer calls a statute, but what stands among the Pope's letters. (Lib. x. No. 130. Vol. ii. p. 74. Ed. Baluz.) It may be enough, for our present purpose, to quote the beginning—

“In order altogether to remove from the patrimony of St. Peter the defilement of heretics, we decree, as a perpetual law, that whatsoever heretic, especially if he be a Patarene, shall be found therein, shall immediately be taken, and delivered to the secular court, to be punished according to law. All his goods also shall be sold, so that he who took him shall receive one part, another shall go to the court which convicted him, and the third shall be applied to the building of prisons in the country wherein he was taken. The house, however, in which a heretic had been *received* shall be altogether destroyed; nor shall



any one presume to rebuild it; but let that which was a den of iniquity, become a receptacle of filth. Moreover, their believers, and defenders, and favourers, shall be fined one fourth part of their goods; which shall be applied to the service of the public."

*Council of Lateran IV. A.D. 1215.*

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The first canon of this Council is on the Catholic Faith (*De Fide Catholica*) and consists of a pretty full confession, much of which is evidently pointed against the errors which were then said to prevail, and with which the Albigenses were charged. Thus, after stating the doctrine of the Trinity, it proceeds to say that the Persons of whom it consists are consubstantial and co-equal, co-omnipotent and co-eternal, one Origin of all things, Creator of all things, visible and invisible, spiritual and material, who, at once, by his omnipotent power, made both species of creatures, spiritual and material, that is to say, angelical and mundane, from nothing; and then formed that which is human; which is, as it were, common, consisting of both spirit and body; for the devils, and other dæmons, were indeed created by God, good in their nature, but they became evil of themselves.

Speaking of the descent of Christ into hell, it says, "but he descended in Spirit, he arose in

“flesh, and ascended equally in both. He will  
“come at the end of the world, to judge the  
“quick and the dead, and to render to every one  
“according to his works, as well to the reprobate  
“as to the elect, who shall all rise with their  
“own proper bodies which they now have.”

Of Baptism, it says, “the sacrament of Baptism, which is performed with water, in the  
“name of the undivided Trinity, namely, of the  
“Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,  
“being rightly performed by any one in the form  
“of the church, is profitable for salvation, as well  
“for children as for adults; and if, after receiving baptism, any man shall have fallen into sin,  
“it may always by true penitence be repaired.”

[ Moreover, not only virgins, and persons  
“continent, but also married persons, pleasing  
“God by a right faith and good practice, are  
“worthy to come to eternal blessedness.

Canon III. which is “of heretics,” says, “We  
“excommunicate and anathematize every heresy,  
“exalting itself against the holy, orthodox, and  
“Catholic Faith, which we have above set forth,”  
&c. It gives, however, no farther light as to the  
heresies themselves, but repeats, in substance, the  
directions which had been already given with  
respect to the inquisition of heresy.

[ Canon XXI. directs that “all persons, of either  
“sex, who shall have arrived at years of discretion,  
“shall faithfully confess all their sins, in

“ private, to their proper priest, and do their utmost to fulfil the penance enjoined, receiving the Sacrament of the Eucharist reverently, at the least at Easter ; unless it shall appear to their own priest, that there is sufficient ground to the contrary, on pain of exclusion from the church while they live, and from christian burial when they die.”

*Letter of Conrad, the Pope's Legate. A. D. 1223.*

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The following letter of Conrad, Bishop of Porto, Legate of the Apostolic See, to the Archbishop of Rouen, is given by Matthew Paris, under this year. The subject to which it refers has been noticed already at p. 85.

“ To the venerable Fathers, by the grace of God, the Archbishop of Rouen, and his suffragan Bishops, health in the Lord Jesus Christ—

“ While forced to implore your aid for the spouse of him who is the Truth, and the Crucified One, we cannot restrain our convulsive grief, and tears. Behold, we speak that which we have seen, and testify that which we know. The Son of Perdition, who is exalted above all that is worshipped, and that is called God, has now a heresiarch as the forerunner of his sin, whom the Albigensian heretics call their Pope, dwelling in the confines of the Bulgarians, of Croatia, and Dalmatia, near the nation of the Hungarians. To him the Albigensian heretics resort, that he may give them advice ; for one Bartholomew, Bishop of the heretics,



being a native of Carcassone, and vicar of this antipope, shewing an impious respect for him, has yielded to him his place and see, in a town called Porlos, and has betaken himself to the parts of Thoulouse. This Bartholomew, in his letters, which are every where current, entitles himself, at the beginning of his salutation, in the following manner, ' Bartholomew, servant of the servants of the holy faith, to such an one health'—He also among other enormities creates bishops and perfidiously proceeds to govern the churches. We earnestly entreat, therefore, by the blood-shedding of Jesus Christ, and solemnly adjure you, strictly enjoining you by authority of the Lord Pope, with which we are empowered in this behalf, that you come to Sens in the next octaves of St. Peter and St. Paul, where also other Prelates of France, if God permit, will be assembled, with a view to give advice in the aforesaid business; and, with others who shall be there, to take measures respecting the Albigensian business, otherwise we shall take care to signify your disobedience to the Lord Pope." Vol. II. p. 317.

Matthew Paris adds, that this tumult was quickly put an end to, by the death of the Antipope.

*Council of Thoulouse. A. D. 1229.*

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The greater part of the Canons of this Council have a reference to heretics; but, for our present purpose, it may be sufficient to extract the following.

I. " We appoint, therefore, that the Archbishops and Bishops shall swear in one priest, and two or three laymen



of good report, or more if they think fit, in every parish, both in and out of cities, who shall diligently, faithfully, and frequently, seek out the heretics in those parishes, by searching all houses, and subterranean chambers, which lie under any suspicion. And looking out for appendages, or outbuildings, in the roofs themselves, or any other kind of hiding places; all which we direct to be destroyed."

Canon vi. "Directs that the house in which any heretic shall be found shall be destroyed."

Canon x. "Also we decree that if any *hæretici vestiti*, having voluntarily abandoned their heresy, shall return to the catholic faith, acknowledging their error, they shall not remain in the town in which they previously dwelt, if that town be suspected of heresy; but shall be placed in a catholic town, which lies under no suspicion of heresy. Moreover, in detestation of their ancient error, they shall thenceforth wear *two conspicuous crosses*, of a different colour from their garments; nor shall any such person be allowed to discontinue these crosses, without letters testimonial of his reconciliation from his Bishop. Nor in future shall any public office be intrusted to any such persons, nor shall they be admitted in any matters of law, unless they shall have been restored to unity, with a sufficient penance by the Lord Pope, or by his Legate a latere."

Canon xi. "Heretics, however, who, through fear of death, or from any other cause, so that it be not done voluntarily, shall return to catholic unity, are to be imprisoned by the Bishop of the place, to perform penance, with proper caution, to prevent their having the power of corrupting others; they are to be supported, as the Bishop shall direct, by those who shall obtain their property; or, if they had no property, the Bishop shall provide for them."

Canons xii. and xiii. require an oath against here-

sy, and regular confession to a priest three times in the year, from all persons who have arrived at years of discretion.

Canon xiv. "We prohibit also that the laity should be permitted to have the books of the old, or the new, testament; unless any one, from motives of devotion, should wish to have the Psalter, or the Breviary for divine offices, or the hours of the blessed Virgin; but we most strictly forbid their having any translation of these books."

Canon xv. "We decree, also, that whosoever shall be considered as a heretic, or be marked with suspicion, shall not henceforth exercise the profession of a physician;<sup>24</sup> and when any sick person shall have received the holy communion from the hand of his priest, let him be vigilantly looked after until his death, or recovery; lest any heretic, or person suspected of heresy, should get access to him; for we have understood, that wicked and abominable things have often occurred from the access of such persons."

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<sup>24</sup> After I had so translated the Canon, I was surprised to find it thus given in the translation of Sismondi's History of the Crusades against the Albigenses, published in 1826. "The following article merits also attention. 'We command that whosoever shall be accused 'of heresy, or noted with suspicion, *shall be deprived of the assistance of a physician.*'" p. 227. Sismondi refers to the Councils, and to Fleury. From the former I had translated, and the words are "Statuimus etiam, quod quicumque fuerint infamati de hæresi, vel suspitione notati, *officio medici de cætero non utantur.*" Which Fleury (Liv. lxxix. n. 57) translates "ne pourra désormais exercer la medecine." If the reader has any doubt, let him consult the xii. Canon of the Council of Beziers (Vol. XI. P. I. col. 680) and the xiv. Canon of the Council of Albi, which seem to me to place the matter beyond dispute. The latter of these will be given presently, under the year 1254. The reason of the precaution is obvious, and will be still more evident as we proceed; as will also my motive for noticing the canon at all.



Canon XVI. "When also any one shall wish to make a will, let it be witnessed by his priest, or by some other ecclesiastic if his own priest cannot be had, together with such men of good credit as he shall choose to call in; and wills otherwise made, shall be invalid and of no force."

*Statutes of Raymond, Count of Thoulouse.*

A. D. 1233.

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So far as regards our enquiry (which is not so much how the heretics were to be dealt with, as what was really the nature of their heresy) these statutes are of little use; for they do not contain much more than what we have already had from the Council of Thoulouse, with respect to the seeking after heretics, searching out suspected places, confiscating property, and requiring the oath of the abjuration of heresy; but it may be worth while to extract the following:—

"Also, we decree that the goods of those who have been *hæretici vestiti*, although they shall have voluntarily abandoned their heresy, shall be confiscated, unless they shew letters testimonial of their reconciliation, or shew and prove it, by other catholic and honest persons. And even if there shall be proof of their reconciliation, unless they shall put on the crosses, being thereof admonished by their Bishop; or if, having put them on, they shall leave them off without permission, or shall be detected in concealing them under their garments, when they ought to carry them outside, prominently, on the front of their

breasts, they shall be punished in like manner. And, whether they have goods or not, they shall be compelled to this by due measures.

“Also, we ordain that, whereas we understand that *believers* in the heretics, when they propose to make themselves *perfect* heretics according to their detestable rite, before the time appointed, sell, or give away, or mortgage, or in some other way alienate, their possessions, and inheritances, and so defraud the government, their goods shall be confiscated, such invalid contracts notwithstanding, if, on consideration of the circumstances of such contracts, and of the parties contracting, it shall appear to us that the persons to whom the goods were transferred were parties to the fraud.

“Also, since we understand that some *believers*, under pretence of merchandize, or pilgrimage, betake themselves to the heretics, that by such absence they may withdraw their goods, and defraud the treasury,” the statute goes on to enact that the Bishop shall make enquiry of their relations and others, and that if it shall be found that they are absent without reasonable cause, their goods shall be confiscated. Conc. XI. P. I. 449.

*Council of Beziers.* A. D. 1233.

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Canon IV. declares, that “those who are reconciled from heresy, who will not, at the command of the Bishop, wear two prominent crosses, shall be taken for heretics, and their goods shall be confiscated.” Conc. XI. P. I. 454.



*Council of Narbonne. A. D. 1235.*

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The date of this Council rests on the authority of Spondanus; who tells us, as, indeed, is evident from the acts of the Council itself, that it was held for the instruction of the Dominicans, as to the mode of dealing with heretics. There are twenty-nine canons, from which I will make one or two extracts. They are thus prefaced:—

“ Peter, by the grace of God, Archbishop of Narbonne, John Archbishop of Arles, Raymond Archbishop of Aix, and the other Prelates, whose seals are affixed to this instrument, to our beloved and faithful sons in Christ, the Brethren of the order of Preachers, appointed Inquisitors of heretics in the aforesaid, and the adjacent provinces, health in the Lord.”

The sixth canon is as follows:—

“ The clergy and people being assembled, you shall cause all [the heretics] publicly to confess and abjure their offences (culpae) and to swear, as is more fully contained in the apostolical mandates, and in the statutes of the Roman Lord; except where the trifling nature of the offence, and the enormity of the scandal, may suggest some deviation from the strictness of the rule. And concerning each, public instruments shall be made, containing their offences (culpae), abjurations, promises, and penances; lest the truth, long concealed, but now as wonderfully as mercifully revealed by the Lord, should hereafter perish or be hidden.”

Then follow many other regulations, which are curious as it regards the history of the Inquisition ; but with which, as they are not exactly to our purpose, I will not tire the reader. The twenty-ninth canon, however, must not be omitted—it is entitled, “*De quibus, et ex quibus credentes possunt judicari,*” and is as follows:—

“ Among the offences by which the *believers* may be judged, so as to leave no doubt, we are clearly of opinion that these may be mentioned :—

“ If they have *done reverence* (*reverentiam fecerunt*) to the *heretics*, where the *believers* imploring their prayers, and acknowledging them as good men, in a manner *adore* them (*quasi adorant illos*)—if they have been present at their *consolations*, where, by the *imposition of hands*, they treacherously pretend to save him whom they *console*, receiving him as a heretic—or in their service, where their *major* holding an open book, by it, as by a general confession, they understand remission of sins to be made.

“ Or at a *Waldensian* supper (where, on the day of the supper, the table being placed, and bread put upon it, one Waldensian blessing, and breaking, and giving to the by-standers, believes, according to their damnable sect, that he makes the body of Christ) not with a view to betray, or reprove them, or for any other commendable or excusable reason. If they have confessed their sins to the said Waldenses, as one is wont, and ought, to confess to one’s priest—if they have knowingly and wickedly, received peace from the *Heretics, or Waldenses*, or bread that has been blessed by them, by whomsoever it may have been sent, or given to them—if they believed that they might be saved in their sect, or that they were good and holy men, or friends of God, or messengers, or of good conversation or life, or that their persecutors sinned ; or if

they thus commended them, or if, in any way, or by any sign, or word, they confessed, either legally or otherwise, that they had faith and credence in them—if they have voluntarily and repeatedly received, heard, and visited, them; given or sent them victuals, or other things; or have learned prayers, epistles, or gospels, from them.

“ These, and the like things, though not proofs if taken singly, weigh collectively; especially since John says, in his epistle, ‘ If any one come unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed, for he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds.’

“ We speak of all these things, however, on the supposition that those who are found so offending, knew that those to whom, or by whom, they were done, were *Heretics or Waldenses*; and were not ignorant, that on account of their peculiar errors, and damnable sects (*sectasque suas damnabiles*) the holy church denounces such as separate from the unity of the catholic faith, and excommunicates, persecutes, and condemns them. Nor is any one who may profess ignorance on this point to be readily believed; for what single stranger even, is there, who does not know of the condemnation of the *Heretics and Waldenses* for many years past, so justly executed, so notorious, so public, so preached about; followed up by so many and great expences, labour, and pains, of the faithful, and so firmly sealed by the death of so many unbelievers, solemnly condemned and publicly executed? So that such an evident disciple of the masters of lying, who denies a truth so notorious, is not to be tolerated; but rather to be condemned with those already condemned, because the very nature of the thing shews, and proves, that he could not be ignorant. For wishing to be hidden, and seeking concealment, the *Heretics and Waldenses* entrust themselves only to their believers, perpetrating with them the aforesaid, and the

like, evil deeds in their hiding places. Which things, although some of these persons may, in like manner, deny that they have heard their errors, or that hearing they believed them, do not allow of their being considered as free from at least an implied participation in the belief of those errors. For though they may say nothing expressly against any specific article, nevertheless they may impugn it silently, and by inference when they say, or express, by word or sign, their approbation of those who are known to be reprobated by the church. At least there can be no doubt that they were in error, when they believed that the things aforesaid could profit to the salvation of their souls, or that salvation was to be had out of the church, or by believing that it might be obtained by those whom the church condemns.

“ However, since the Lord Pope, as well as the Lord Legate, has seen fit to commit this business, as relates to most of the provinces, to your discretion, beloved brethren in Christ, we write these things to you, not to restrict you or to bind you to our plans, since it were improper that the discretionary power granted to you should be limited by the counsels, forms, or regulations, of any other persons than the apostolic see, to the prejudice of the business; but we wish, as indeed we are commanded, by the apostolic see itself, to help forward your zeal; that by the exercise of mutual kindness, you, who bear our burdens, may receive in return from us counsel and help, in that which is in fact our own affair.” Conc. XI. P. 1. 487.

*Decretal of Pope Gregory IX. A. D. 1236.*

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It begins thus, “ We excommunicate and  
“ anathematize all heretics, Cathari, Patareni,



“ Poor Men of Lyons, Passagini, Josepini, Arnaldistæ, Speronistæ, and others, by whatsoever names they may be known, having, indeed, different faces, but being united by their tails, and meeting in the same point through their vanity.”<sup>25</sup>

*Letter of Pope Gregory IX. A. D. 1238.*

The Pope, in writing to the Prior of the Dominican Friars, in Lombardy, begins thus:—

“ That inflexible enemy of the human race, the instigator of all evil, whom his pride cast down from the highest to the lowest estate, not content that, by the wickedness of his fraud, he led man to a fall, beset with cares and misery, craftily endeavours to ensnare him in his pestilential nets, artfully contriving against him, lest he should rise again to obtain that place from which he had fallen. *Very lately, however, in these days* (novissime autem diebus istis) perfidiously endeavouring to destroy the faith by his ministers of iniquity, he has spread deadly poison; rebelliously considering that domestic enemies would be efficacious in doing mischief, who, putting forth fair appearances, sting with their tails like scorpions, and would, at length, infuse their pestilential poison in the golden cup of Babylon.

<sup>25</sup> I translate this as it stands in the Councils. Vol. xi. P. 1. 334. In the Decretals, Lib. v. Tit. vii. 15. we find *Patharenos* and *Tossepinos*; both of which I suppose to be merely errors of the transcriber.

For although the heretics hitherto for a long while being concealed (*bactenus diutius latitantes*) have spread like a cancer in secret, and, like foxes, have rejoiced to demolish the vineyard of the Lord of Hosts, now, however, led on by their sins, they presume avowedly to rise up against it in open day, like horses prepared for the battle, publicly preaching in some places, seeking food in the simple, and a prey in the unlearned. Moreover, desiring to ensnare some of the faithful by their artifices, they have become masters of error, who never were disciples of truth. It is expedient, therefore, that ~~any~~ <sup>they</sup> should rise up manfully against them." &c. Conc. xi. P. 1. 335.

*Council of Tarragona.* A. D. 1242.

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Bzovius states that this Council was held in consequence of an irruption of the *Waldenses* into Arragon. It is, in fact, completely *Waldensian*, and as it professes to give definitions with respect to terms, of which it is desirable to have a clear understanding in this enquiry, I will make some extracts.

"In the first place, it is enquired, who are to be called *heretics*? who *suspected*? who *believers*? who *favourers*? who *receivers*? who *defenders*? and who *relapsed*?" and this is explained in the following manner:—

"*Heretics* are those who persist in their error, like the *Inzabbatati*, who say that we ought in no case to swear—that obedience is not due to the ecclesiastical or secular powers—and that corporal punishment is not to be inflicted on any one, and the like.

“ *Believers* in the said heresies are, in like manner, to be called heretics.

“ He may be called *Suspected* of heresy, who hears the preaching or reading of the Inzabbatati, or who has knelt in prayer with them, or who has kissed them, or who believes those Inzabbatati to be good men, or other things which may probably induce suspicion. And he may be said to be *simply suspected* who has even once prayed, or done any of the aforesaid things with them. If, however, he has frequently heard their preaching and reading, or has prayed, or has done any of the aforesaid things with them, he may be said to be *vehemently suspected*. But, if he has done *all* the aforesaid things, especially if it be *frequently*, he may be said to be *most vehemently suspected*. We state the matter in this way, in order that a discreet judge may increase or diminish the required proof of innocence, as may appear expedient.

“ *Concealers*, (celatores) we understand to mean, those who have seen Inzabbatati in the street, or in a house, or in any other place, and knew that they were Inzabbatati, and did not inform against them, when they had the opportunity of discovering them to the church, or to the magistrate, or to others who might apprehend them.

“ By *Hiders* (occultatores) we understand those who have entered into an agreement not to discover the heretics, or Inzabbatati, or who have otherwise prevented their being discovered.

*Receivers*, are those who have twice or more received heretics, or Inzabbatati, knowing them to be such, in their house, or in any other place belonging to them. A *receptacle*, we understand to be a house or inn, where heretics or Inzabbatati have twice, or more, assembled for preaching or reading; or even where heretics, or Inzabbatati have been frequently entertained.



“*Defenders*, we understand to be those who knowingly defend heretics, or Inzabbatati, by word, or deed, or any other device, in their lands, or elsewhere, so that the church may be the less able to perform its duty, of extirpating heretical pravity.

“*Favourers*, we understand to mean, all the foregoing classes in a greater or less degree; and even those who otherwise, in any manner, have given them counsel, help, or favour. And all favourers we consider to be so far suspected that they ought to clear themselves, and to abjure heresy, and all favouring, and ought to be reconciled to the holy Mother Church.

“The *relapsed*, are those who, after having abjured and renounced heresy, return to their former belief of it. In like manner we say, that those have *relapsed into the favouring* of heresy, who, after having abjured heresy, or the favouring of it, do good to the heretics, or conceal them; and all the persons aforesaid in case they shall be found, except those who are suspected without favouring, we anathematize with the greater excommunication.

“A doubt also arises with some whether those who have relapsed into belief, and heretics who are teachers, if after apprehension they desire to repent, should be delivered to the secular judgment? And it appears to us that they should not, but that in every case such persons should be sentenced to imprisonment.”

Having thus defined these various classes, the Council goes on to assign various penances, and, in so doing, speaks of “*perfecti hæretici*,” and of “*mulieres vestitæ*,” but the only part, perhaps, worth extracting, is the form by which a person suspected of heresy was required publicly to clear himself:



“I, N. swear by Almighty God, and by these holy gospels of God, which I hold in my hands, before you, the Lord N. Archbishop, or Bishop, and before you others, his assessors, that I am not, and have not been, an Insabbatized Waldensian (Inzabbatatus Waldensis) or Poor Man of Lyons; nor a heretic in any sect condemned by the church; nor do I, nor did I, believe their errors; nor will I, as long as I live believe them; moreover, I profess and protest that I believe, and always will believe, the catholic faith, which the holy and apostolic Roman church publicly holds, teaches, and preaches; and which you, Lord Archbishop, or Bishop, and the other prelates of the universal church, publicly hold, teach, and preach.” Conc. XI. P. I. 593.

The chief point to be observed in our present enquiry is, that, as this council was professedly held to oppose the *Waldenses*, so it is, as I have already said, purely *Waldensian*, and makes no charge of Manichean doctrine, or any reference to those rites and practices of the Albigenses, which have been already hinted at by the words *imposition, adoration, consolation, &c.*; and which will be more fully explained hereafter.

*Edicts of the Emperor Frederic II. A. D. 1244.*

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In the second of these edicts, the Emperor says, “In imitation of the martyrs who have suffered for the catholic faith, they name them-

“ selves Patarenes ; as being exposed to suffering  
 “ —in exemplum martyrum, qui pro fide catholica  
 “ martyria subierunt Patarenos se nominant, velut  
 “ expositos passioni.”

The third edict begins with a condemnation of the *Cathari*, *Patareni*, *Speronistæ*, *Leonistæ*, *Arnaldistæ*, *Circumcisi*, *Passagini*, *Josepini*, *Garatenses*, *Albanenses*, *Francisi*, *Bagnaroli*, *Commixti*, *Waldenses*, *Roncaroli*, *Communelli*, *Warini*, and *Ortoleni*, and those of Aquanigra, and all heretics of either sect, by whatsoever name they may be distinguished.

“ It throws, however, no light on their tenets or practices, except by directing that “ the houses  
 “ of Patarenes, their receivers, defenders, and  
 “ favourers, or where they have taught, or where  
 “ they have *laid hands* on others (*ubi aliis manus imposuerint*) shall be destroyed and never  
 “ rebuilt.” ”

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” Conc. xi. P. i. 619. These edicts are also given at length in Limborch’s History of the Inquisition. Lib. i. c. 12. I place them in the year 1244, because Limborch there says, that Paulus Servita, in his History of the Inquisition of Venice, assigns them to that year; while Raynaldus and Bzovius date them in 1225. The latter date seems most probable; and it is not of much consequence which is the true one.

*Council of Beziers.* A. D. 1246.

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Among the forty-six canons of this Council there are many which relate to heretics ; but most of them are little more than a repetition of former decrees, with regard to the inquisition of heresy, and the mode of apprehending and dealing with heretics and their favourers. One or two things however, are worth noticing.

“ Canon VI. Since, according to the words of our Saviour, sinners are to be called to repentance, we ought to rejoice when they willingly receive and perform the penance imposed on them.

“ Wherefore, we decree, and in the power of the Holy Spirit, command, that there be no derision of those penitents who are sentenced to wear crosses ; and that they be not excluded from their own places, or from the general intercourse of society ; lest the conversion of sinners be retarded, or, by reason of such offence, those who are converted should renounce their penance and relapse ; and those who will not desist, being admonished, are to be compelled by ecclesiastical censures.”

Canon XII. directs that the medical attendants of heretics and their favourers, shall, if called on by their respective Bishops, take an oath faithfully and efficaciously to assist the church against heretics, according to their office and power.

Canon XIII. directs that persons who have been *heretici vestiti* shall be removed from any public office that they may hold, and shall not be eligible to any other.

This Council also drew up a set of rules for the guidance of the Inquisitors, consisting of thirty-seven chapters; but, as nearly all that is to our purpose has been already anticipated, or will be hereafter more briefly and clearly stated, I will confine myself to one or two extracts :

“ Chap. iv. From those who, being thus cited, appear before you, within the time prescribed, you shall take an oath that they will speak the truth to the best of their knowledge, simply and freely, with regard to the crime of heresy, as well concerning themselves as others, whether living or dead. And afterwards, being diligently examined by you, or your scribes, concerning all things respecting which enquiry should be made, you shall cause their confessions and depositions to be faithfully written, and deposited among the acts of the Inquisition, by some public person (if that be in your power) or else by some fit person who shall be sworn, and to whom some other fit person, sworn in like manner, shall be joined, in order that a document of this kind, written by a public hand or (as we have suggested) by two fit persons, and deposited in the acts, and also recited to the person confessing or deposing before the Inquisitor and Notary, or the two fit persons aforesaid, may obtain the fullest authority.”

Chap. xvi. directs the Inquisitors to examine the *perfecti*, and *vestiti*, privately before certain discreet and faithful persons.

Chap. xxviii. directs that persons who have been convicted of heresy, shall not follow the profession of a physician or notary.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Conc. xi. P. i. 676.



*Letter of Pope Innocent IV. A. D. 1252.*

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The Constitutions of this Pope, addressed to the authorities of Lombardy, for the guidance of the secular magistrates in the business of extirpating heresy, contain many curious particulars relating to the inquisition; but I do not know that they give any information that is to our purpose, except that, by their existence, they shew that heresy was at that time so prevalent in Lombardy, as that it was thought to require such interference.

*Council of Albi. A. D. 1254.*

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This Council refers to the Council of Toulouse of 1229, and, so far as relates to our purpose, does little more than repeat and add to its decrees, respecting the mode of apprehending and dealing with heretics. In fact, among its seventy-one canons, I do not know that it is worth while to notice any but the following:—

Can. x. qualifies the canon of the former council, which excluded converts from heresy from all public offices—or rather, perhaps, states expressly what must surely have been understood before—that they shall not hold any such office, unless they shall have been first entirely restored by the Pope, or his Legate.

Can. xiv. is as follows:—"Moreover, adding to the Council of Thoulonse (by which it is provided that whosoever shall be marked with the evil report, or suspicion, of heresy, shall not, in future, exercise the office of a physician) we decree that no physician shall hereafter presume to practice in any part of the country that is suspected of heresy, unless he shall have been first approved by the Bishop of the place, as to his life and morals and especially as to his faith." Conc. xi. P. 1. 720.

*Letters of Pope Innocent IV. A. D. 1254.*

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A letter addressed to all the faithful, and dated the 15th of June, in this year, begins thus :

"Know all men, that, in imitation of our predecessor, Pope Gregory, we excommunicate "all heretics, *Cathari, Paterini, Poor Men of Lyons, Passagini, Josepini, Arnaldistæ, Speronistæ*, and others; by whatever names they "may be distinguished," &c.

A letter dated four days afterwards, and addressed to the Dominican Friars, on the extirpation of heresy, shows its prevalence in Lombardy, but neither of these letters throw any light on its peculiar nature.

A third letter, belonging to about the same time, is directed to the authorities of Lombardy, Romagno, and the Marquisate of Trevisano; and its object is to sanction, and to call upon



**SECT. 7.]    LETTERS OF INNOCENT IV.    A. D. 1254.    211**

them to enforce the edicts which had been issued by the Emperor Frederic, and which have been already mentioned.    **Ep. XI. XII. XIII.    Conc. XI. P. I. 616.**

## SECTION VIII.

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### THE BOOK OF SENTENCES.

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WE have seen that by the rules framed for the Inquisitors, at the Council of Narbonne, in 1235, they were directed, in every case, to cause public instruments to be made, containing the offences (culpæ), abjurations, promises, and penances; and, that the Council of Beziers, in 1246, directed that the depositions and confessions of the heretics should be written out by some person sworn for that purpose, and then deposited, and preserved, among the archives of the Inquisition; and it must naturally occur to the reader, that, if we could get at some of these records, much light would be thrown on the subject.

Now the fact is, that a volume of these documents, containing the proceedings of the Inquisition of Thoulouse, for about sixteen years, (from 1307 to 1323) by some means or other, fell into the hands of Limborch, who printed it in the



year 1693. He does not tell us how he came by it; but informs us that it was a folio parchment book, of more than two hundred *leaves*. These must have been well filled, as they occupy, in the printed copy, more than four hundred close-printed folio *pages*; though Limborch (whose only praise seems to have been strict fidelity, and abstinence from tampering with his text) has not given one line of annotation of any kind whatever. The consequence of this has been that the book (which, as Gibbon remarks, deserved a more learned and critical editor) is not very inviting to some readers, and is less known than it deserves to be. It may, perhaps, be hard to decide whether it should be called a public, or a private, document; and, therefore, it is not unfitly placed between those which are, strictly speaking, public documents, and those accounts which rest on the authority of individual writers. Beside this, however, I have another reason for placing it in a distinct section—indeed, for devoting more than one section to it—and that is, its superior importance. In fact, I have brought forward the public documents hitherto noticed, very principally with a view to authenticate and illustrate this one, which I consider to be the fullest, and the most decisive.

Of its genuinenes, I believe there never has been, and never can be, any doubt: and its value

will, I hope, be in some degree apparent from what I shall lay before the reader.

It is generally called “**THE BOOK OF SENTENCES;**”<sup>28</sup> because on one of the covers was written “**L. SENTENCIARUM;**” but this name would give the reader but little idea of its contents. It is, in a great degree, a register of the proceedings of the Inquisition, during the sixteen years which I have mentioned; and, beside the sentences on the condemned, contains an account of the penances imposed, and remitted—of the persons imprisoned, and discharged—of those delivered to the secular arm—and a variety of other matters.

I am not writing an account of the Inquisition; but I must take leave to make one or two remarks on its mode of proceeding, which may be of use to illustrate this Book of Sentences.

Though the Inquisition was constantly engaged in the investigation of heresy, and in receiving information, by testimony, or confession, yet its public proceedings (or something like what we should call sessions, or assizes) appear to have been held at irregular periods, whenever circumstances seemed to render it expedient. They were uniformly opened by a

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<sup>28</sup> Mosheim calls it “*Codex Tolosanus*,” which Mac-laine, absurdly enough, translates by “the Code of Toulouse.” See before, p. 89.

sermon ; and, from that circumstance, the whole proceeding (or as we have learned from the Portuguese to call it, Auto-da-fé) came to be called a SERMO. The book in question is a record of what took place on fifteen such occasions, between the years 1307 and 1323. Some of these Sermons were for a special purpose (*sermo particularis*) and others rather in the nature of a general goal-delivery, at which persons who had been imprisoned were discharged, and others imprisoned, sentences of penance were passed or remitted, relapsed heretics were delivered to the secular arm, &c. These fifteen sermons were held at the following times and places :

1. A. D. 1307, March 3, at Thoulouse.
2. — 1309, May 25, —————
3. — 1310, April 5, —————
4. — 1312, April 23, —————
5. — ——— 30, —————
6. — 1313, Sept. 20, —————
7. — 1315, Mar. 7, —————
8. — 1319, Sept. 30, —————
9. — ——— Dec. 8, at Carcassone.
10. — 1321, June 29, at Cordua.
11. — ——— July 14, at Carcassone.
12. — ——— Aug. 2, at Pamiers.
13. — 1322, July 4, 5, —————
14. — ——— Sept. 12, at Thoulouse.
15. — 1323, June 19, at Pamiers.

Of the business transacted on these occasions, the following statement may perhaps give some idea.<sup>29</sup>

Persons sentenced to wear crosses, or double crosses, or (as false witnesses) crosses and tongues of red cloth, on their clothes, or to make perigrinations to one or more churches, or to do other acts of penance ..... 174

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<sup>29</sup> That the numbers are perfectly accurate I dare not affirm; for the book is printed in such a form and manner, as to render mistake very easy—and I am afraid that calculations founded on hunting among four hundred pages of close-printed matter, where persons and places sometimes are, and sometimes are not, honoured with a capital letter—where proper names are so variously spelt, and the same places are so variously described, as sometimes to make their identity doubtful—where one person appears under various descriptions, and several persons have the same name—where one broad folio page, or mass of type, is just the reflection of the other; and the editor has given no note or reference of any kind—where these things meet, I should be afraid to speak positively; but I feel pretty confident that there is no material error in my numbers, or any which can in the slightest degree affect the question. Minute accuracy, though always desirable, is not in this case essential; and certainly could not be obtained, without more trouble and loss of time, than the thing is worth.



|                                                                                                                   |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Persons sentenced to imprisonment, whether<br>more or less severe—"ad murum<br>largum," or "ad murum strictum" .. | 318 |
| ——— condemned after death, as having<br>been heretics, or favourers of heresy,<br>during their lives .....        | 90  |
| ——— fugitive, condemned as heretics.....                                                                          | 38  |
| ——— delivered, as relapsed heretics, to the<br>secular arm <sup>30</sup> .....                                    | 40  |
| ——— released from various penances.....                                                                           | 133 |
| ——— discharged from imprisonment.....                                                                             | 139 |

The whole number of cases reported (if I may use the expression) appears by this statement to be 932 ; but it is obvious that the same individual might (and, in fact, a great many did) appear before the Inquisition more than once in the course of sixteen years. Having confessed some connexion with heresy, he might be ordered

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<sup>30</sup> Gibbon, speaking of this book of Sentences, in a note on his 54th chapter, says, "of a list of criminals which fills nineteen folio pages, only *fifteen* men and *four* women were delivered to the secular arm." Vol. v. p. 535. I believe he should have said *thirty-two* men and *eight* women ; and imagine that he was misled by the fact, that the index-maker most commonly (but by no means always) states the nature of the sentence passed on each person. From the book, however, it appears that forty persons were so delivered,—viz. 29 Albigenses, 7 Waldenses, and 4 Beguins.

to wear a cross on his garments—for neglecting to do this, he might, at the next sermon, be imprisoned—he might break out of gaol, and be condemned while a fugitive; and, being afterwards apprehended, he might be again imprisoned, or delivered over to the secular arm. The number, however, of *individuals* who were brought under the notice of the Inquisition during the period in question, and who are mentioned under one or other of the classes which I have specified, I believe to be 638—that is, 373 men, and 265 women. Of these persons, 11 are merely mentioned at the beginning of the book, as having punishments remitted, their sentences having probably been entered in the preceding volume; and 20 are only named as having received sentence of penance, or imprisonment, at the fifteenth sermon, the brief account of which seems to be only a postscript, and not properly to belong to the volume. Of these persons, therefore, as to the nature of their heresy, we learn nothing whatever; and they may be dismissed at once. The remaining 607 may be classed as follows :

|                                             |    |
|---------------------------------------------|----|
| Waldenses.....                              | 92 |
| Beguins.....                                | 15 |
| Jews, and other heretics, obviously neither |    |
| Albigenses nor Waldenses .....              | 5  |

Persons not called *Albigenses*, but who appear to have been of one and the same sect; and who were obviously what are popularly called *Albigenses*..... 495

The sentences being in general (except in the case of relapsed heretics) very short and summary matters, classing together a number of delinquents, and making only a general reference to their offences, the *culpæ* (or more strictly *culpe*—for there is not, I believe, a diphthong in the book) form the most valuable, and, in fact, the greatest, part of the volume. The offence of each person is stated principally, and I believe always, from his confession.

In fact, what Petrus de Claveriis, (publicus Tholose notarius,) who “scripsit et ingrossavit” the first ninety-six leaves of the volume, containing the eight first sermons, calls merely “*Culpe*,” Gulielmus Julianus (Clericus Lemovicensis Dyocesis,) who ingrossed the acts of the fourteenth sermon, calls “*Culpe extracte de confessionibus*” (p. 340, et seq.). These *culpe*, however, are in many cases very brief; but, as I shall give the reader an opportunity by translating some, both of the longer, and more curious, and some of the brief and common-place *culpe*, he will be enabled, in some degree, to judge for himself, and, in the mean time, I need only observe, that, laying out of the question a great number which



afford little or no information, there still remains such evidence as appears to me (as, indeed, it did to Limborch and Mosheim) quite irresistible.

Having given this slight account of the Book of Sentences, I should proceed at once to lay before the reader a chapter of Limborch's History of the Inquisition, in which he may be said, in some degree, to have given a digest of its contents, so far as relates to our present subject of enquiry; but that, before I do this, I think it right to meet an objection which has been made to the book itself by Allix, whose only excuse is, that he had never seen it. He had indeed received some account of it, and such as should have made him hesitate, if he had not been resolved to carry his point through thick and thin; but it was not printed when he wrote, and if it had been, I doubt whether he would have bestowed sufficient pains to understand its real value and importance. He says, "that nothing ought to be more suspected, than the acts of the Inquisition; for he that is a murderer is certainly a liar and a knave." *On the Albigen.* p. 187.

Such an argument could not, of course, be used by Mr. Faber, who, as we have seen, lays great stress on the testimony of inquisitors; but as I am anxious, as far as I can, to remove every unfounded prejudice against a witness, whose evidence seems to me to be very weighty, I must observe,



First, that supposing all inquisitors to have been murderers, it does not follow that we are entirely to reject all that they say. It does not follow, that because a man is a murderer we should believe nothing that he tells us, even respecting his own crimes—on the contrary, murderers are often admitted as witnesses in courts of justice.

Secondly, though we may suspect what a murderer tells us respecting his own crimes, when he is detected and apprehended, yet we are apt to believe what he may have previously written concerning them for his own use, or between himself and his partners in guilt. If the wretched men who have lately been executed for the murder of the Italian boy, and whose career of guilt is believed, on their own confession, to have been long and desperate, had kept from time to time, during sixteen years, a minute and circumstantial register, purporting to contain an account of their atrocities—of the names, ages, and personal appearance of their victims—of the circumstances which led to their fixing upon them, the conversation which passed with them, and the mode by which they destroyed them—of the way in which they disposed of their bodies, and concealed their clothes—if, after their execution, such a document had been found, should we allow any person whom it might inculcate to tell us, that we ought to throw it aside at once, for that, as the writers

were murderers, they were certainly liars and knaves? Would it not be more reasonable to say, "Let us take the document, bearing in mind that it is the work of murderers, liars and knaves, and what you will—let us look at its contents, and see what internal evidence it contains of having been written sincerely, or with a view to deceive—let us endeavour to find out what they aimed at in writing, and what motives they might have for writing truth or falsehood, and how far what they have written is corroborated by other evidence—at any rate, let us look at it, for supposing this great mass of matter to consist of nothing but lies, yet, perhaps, we may learn from them, what the writers did not mean to tell us."

Thirdly, it may be said that in the *sentences* the Inquisitors stated whatever they thought would render the heretics odious, and that, in the *confessions*, the poor simple people were entrapped, or tormented, into bringing charges against themselves, and their teachers, and made to say (at least in this written account) just what the Inquisitors pleased.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Perrin has made such a charge against the Inquisitors of Ambrun, which he founds on the papers in his possession. He says (at least in the translation of 1711, which is all that I have at present access to) "We may observe a remarkable piece of villainy in the process formed by this monk Veileti: For having the said pro-



To this I reply, that the supposition is contradicted by the obvious facts of the case.

First, however agreeable it may be to some writers to call, indiscriminately, all persons con-

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“cess in our hands, we have discovered certain little bills, wherein the said commissioner us’d to take the answers of the persons accused, simply and nakedly, as they came out of their mouths, but we found them afterwards stretch’d and extended in the process, *altogether contrary* to what they were in the *Sumptum*, as they call’d it, altering therein the intention of the said person, making him to say, that which he never thought of.” Part II. Book II. Ch. 3. It is a great pity that, when these curious documents fell into Perrin’s hands, he did not print them verbatim (as Limborch did with the book before us) instead of merely telling us what he thought of them, or supposed them to mean. No one who reads Perrin’s book will, I think, give him credit for being a man of more learning, or acuteness, than Mr. Faber; yet, what idea should we have formed of the “Inquisitorial document” (which, by the way, was one of these very papers), if we had only Mr. Faber’s account of it, without having the document itself to refer to? How far the papers in question might support Perrin’s charge, I know not; nor can I tell what tricks the Inquisitors of Ambrun might play in the fifteenth century. Of this part of Waldensian history, I hope, at a future time, to give farther information than has yet been made public; but, in the mean while, I feel compelled to say, that the Inquisitors of Thoulouse do not appear to me, to have proceeded in this manner. The *culpæ* seem to me to contain internal evidence that they were not got up in this way. Of this, the reader may in

nected with the Inquisition, "bloody Inquisitors," and "murderers," and to represent them as thirsting only for the blood of their victims, and leaving no means untried to bring them to the stake, yet it appears that, in the course of sixteen years, during which time 638 persons were in the hands of the Inquisition, only 40 persons were sentenced to death; and it does not appear that all of these were executed. If the slaughter of their victims was their object, they must have been bunglers at their trade to let 598 escape out of 638, when they had them "*coram nobis in judicio.*" I do not mean to palliate the proceedings of the Inquisition; but it is as truly a sin, (though it may not be so great a one) to bear false witness against one's neighbour, even when that neighbour is as wicked as the worst Inquisitor, as it is to commit a murder.

Secondly, the supposition is contradicted by this fact, which I consider very remarkable; and which I would beg the reader to weigh. *I do not find, in any one of these hundreds of sentences, and confessions, either as a matter of charge by the Inquisitor, or self-accusation, or charge by a*

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some degree judge, from those which I shall extract; but, of course, the strongest proof would arise from the multitude of stupid, uninteresting confessions, which are not worth extracting, and for which I must refer the reader to the book itself.



*confessor, any the slightest attempt, directly or indirectly, to impeach the character of any Albigenian, or Waldensian, with respect to chastity, temperance, or honesty.*<sup>3</sup> This, I repeat, appears to

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<sup>32</sup> The translator of Sismondi's account of the Albigenian Crusade, already referred to, cites Venema as saying, "the Acts of the Inquisition at Toulouse, by Limborch, paint these men in the *blackest colours*, as not only "Manicheans but of the worst lives and manners." *Introd. Essay.* p. xxxiii. And Venema certainly does say, after mentioning other writers, "Acta Inquisitionis Tolosanæ apud Limburgium, alii, hos homines depingunt atris admodum coloribus, tanquam Manichæos non tantum, sed et *pessimæ vitæ ac morum.*" *Instit. Hist. Eccles. Sæc. XII. §. cxxii.* What could lead Venema to make such an assertion, I am at a loss to conceive; for though there may be many things in the book which have escaped me, yet I have such an acquaintance with it as enables me to say that the assertion is grossly false. I did not make the statement in the text until after a good deal of examination; and, to shew how strictly I mean the reader to understand my words, I will here mention the only two things that I have met with, which might *seem in any degree, or by the strictest construction*, to contradict what I have said. In a confession (which will be laid before the reader) an Albigenian, named Peter Andrew, certainly does incidentally speak of a certain woman as being his *concubine*; but the confession of such a connexion was not in those days, what it would now be. If the moral guilt was the same, the scandal would be nothing; and it is with that point that we are at present concerned. The connexion implied by a name now altogether scandalous, may be said

me to be very important, because such charges are to be met with elsewhere; and it certainly goes far towards disproving them. At the same time, it is important in another point of view

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to have been sanctioned, not merely by the state of society in general, but by a positive decree of the church. The xvii. Canon, of the Council of Toledo, had long ago decreed, "*Si quis habens uxorem fidelem, si concubinam habeat non communicet. Cæterum qui non habet uxorem, et pro uxore concubinam habet, a communione non repellatur; tantum ut unius mulieris, aut uxoris, aut concubinæ (ut ei placuerit) sit conjunctione contentus; alias vero vivens abjiciatur, donec desinat, et per pœnitentiam revertatur.*" Conc. ii. 1226. A very slight acquaintance with the state of society in the age of the Book of Sentences, will shew, that such an offence against morals, was not likely to be a matter of which any inquisitor would be anxious to convict any man, in order to bring him into public odium; or such as that the man himself conceived that he was stating anything which might be discreditable to him, or to his sect. The other case also occurs in a confession which will be laid before the reader, and in which he will see that Peter Auterius, a very principal leader of the Albigenses, is stated by an old woman, whose son-in-law he visited in his illness, to have told a boy in the house, in case any one should enquire who had been there, to say it was a physician. This was certainly telling a falsehood; but these two points, incidentally mentioned in confessions, are all that I know of, which can give any kind of colour for pretending that the character of any Albigensian, or Waldensian, is impeached, in any way or degree, as to the points which I have mentioned.

(and for that reason I notice it in this place) as shewing that whether such charges, true or false, were then afloat or not, the Inquisitors minded their own business of investigating heretical pravity, and did not employ themselves in inventing or publishing slanders against the heretics with whom they had to do. I venture to add, that as far as I have seen (and I have bestowed a good deal of pains on the book) there is nothing, but the mere matter of heresy, in any Sentence or Culpa, which, being publicly read in the "Cathedral Church of St. Stephen, at Thoulouse, the Royal Court, and the Consuls of Thoulouse, and the whole body of the clergy and people, being, according to custom, assembled in a great multitude," could excite popular indignation, or odium, against the heretics; and that, if it was the design of the Inquisitors to produce such an effect, they certainly set about it in a way which shews that the world has given them credit for more wit than they possessed.



## SECTION IX.

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### EXTRACT FROM LIMBORCH'S HISTORY OF THE INQUISITION.

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I NOW proceed to extract what Limborch has said on the subject of the Albigenses and Waldenses ; and I shall do this from Chandler's translation, published in the year 1731. Though in some places not quite accurate, I shall print it just as it stands, except as to the following particulars—to make it more plain, I shall break it into some minor divisions—omit some few things which the translator has thought fit to insert, and which are not in the original ; and take the liberty, now and then, to interpolate a word or two in the text between brackets—instead of putting all quotations in *italics* as he has done, I shall reserve that type to indicate some parts to which I wish to call the reader's attention, and shall mark quotations in the usual way—his references, which he places in the margin, I shall insert in the text, in order that they may not be confounded with some notes which I shall add—the reader will also observe, that *his* refer-



ences are to the *folio*, that is (copying Limborch who wrote his history before the Book of Sentences was *printed*) to the *leaf* of the original manuscript, the number of which stands in the *margin* of the *printed* copy : presuming, however, that the reader is not likely to have access to the original, my references are made to the *page* of the printed copy, which, as it contains scarcely more than half as much as a leaf of the manuscript, and is of course regularly numbered at the corner, seems to me to be the most convenient way.<sup>1</sup>

#### CHAPTER VIII.

##### *Of the Albigenses and Valdenses.*

“ ABOUT the same time the Valdenses, or the Poor Men of Lyons, appeared at Lyons, whose original hath been largely shewn by the most Reverend and learned Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, in his book *De Successione*, &c. ch. viii. I shall therefore only enquire, whether the Val-

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<sup>1</sup> In order still farther to facilitate reference, I shall give the christian name of the person whose sentence, or culpa, is referred to, with the page, thus, *Petrus*, 206, *Guilielmus*, 256, &c.; but I must caution the reader against supposing that the same name, even if it has the same number, always indicates the same person; for of the name of *Petrus* there are more than seventy, and very near a hundred named *Guilielmus* and *Guilielma*, and it sometimes happens that two of the same name are mentioned on the same page.

denses and Albigenses were the same people, according to the common opinion of protestants, or different from one another. It cannot be doubted but that they had some opinions in common. But there is nothing more evident, than that there was amongst them a great variety of doctrines, and difference of rites and customs, as appears from the book of the Sentences of the Inquisition at Tholouse, which I have published [I now publish], in which are to be found many of the sentences pronounced against the Albigenses and Valdenses, which discover some very curious and uncommon things, concerning their doctrines and rites; and which are such evident proofs of their *difference in opinions and customs* that [whoever has read some of the sentences pronounced against the Albigenses and Valdenses, as soon as he meets with any sentence<sup>2</sup>] from the reading of a few lines, one may easily know whether the sentence pronounced was against the Albigenses or Valdenses; *which manifest difference hath induced me to believe that they were TWO DISTINCT SECTS; though I have hitherto been in the common opinion that they were but one.* And, that this may appear more clearly, I shall here give out of the Book of Sentences, the doctrines common to both, and those in which they differed, and describe their particular rites and customs.

[*Doctrines common to both the Albigenses and Waldenses.*]

“The opinions common to them both were these:—

“Every *oath* is unlawful and sinful; and therefore they would never, upon any occasion,<sup>3</sup> take an oath. f. 39. b. f. 96.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> These words were, I suppose, accidentally omitted by the translator.

<sup>3</sup> Limborch only says “ac proinde, quod in judicio constituti, et requisiti ut jurarent de veritate dicenda, jurare noluerunt.”

<sup>4</sup> One of these references is to an Albigensian, the other to a Waldensian, confession.



“Concerning *penance and the confession of sins*: the Albigenses are said to believe that confession, made to the priests of the church of Rome, signifies nothing: that neither the Pope nor any other of the church of Rome can absolve any one from his sins; but that they have the power of absolving from their sins, all <sup>5</sup> those who become of their sect, by the imposition of hands. f. 40. <sup>6</sup>

“Almost the same things are ascribed to the Valdenses,<sup>7</sup> that they teach that they have power from God only, even as the Apostles had, of confessing men and women of their sins, who believe them, and are willing to confess to them: that they hear their confessions, and enjoin them penance for their sins; although those who hear their confessions, are not ordained by the church, are not priests or clerks, but laicks only; and though they confess that they have not, in the least, received this power from the Church of Rome. f. 96. And farther, in most of the Sentences against the Valdenses, we find, that they confessed their sins to one of the Valdenses, and received absolution and penance from him, and believed that the said confession and absolution, and penance, as much availed to the salvation of the soul, as though they had been confessed to a proper priest. But their doctrine is best understood by

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<sup>5</sup> Rather, “from all their sins those who become,” &c.—“a peccatis omnibus illos,” &c.

<sup>6</sup> So *Hugo*, 138, “quod capellani nullum poterant absolvere a peccato, set tantummodo ipsi heretici.”—*Lombarda*, 106, “quod capellani non poterant aliquem absolvere a peccatis.”—*Petrus*, 84, “quod Papa et alii de Ecclesia Romana nullum poterant absolvere a peccatis, set ipsi hæretici poterant dare remissionem peccatorum.”—*Bernardus*, 248, “quod per impositionem manuum ab eis factam suis credentibus saluabatur homo, et remittebantur omnia peccata, sine confessione et satisfactione.”

<sup>7</sup> Not this ceremony of imposition of hands—of which more presently.

the sentence of Hugueta, the wife of John of Vienna :  
 ‘ that God only can absolve from sins ; and that he who  
 ‘ receives confession, can only advise what a man ought  
 ‘ to do, and enjoin penance ; and that a wise and prudent  
 ‘ person may do this, whether he be a priest or not.’ f.  
 147. <sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> The similarity in this case is rather verbal, than real. Certainly it appears from this book, that the Albigenses and Waldenses agreed in denying that the Priests of the Church of Rome could give absolution, in the sense in which the doctrine was held by that Church ; and that each sect assumed the power of giving absolution to its members, though in a manner widely different. I do not imagine that the Albigenses had any custom analogous to that of confession to a Priest ; nor do I remember a single instance of an *Albigensian* confessing his sins to one of his teachers. Their absolution was general, and performed by the imposition of hands, in the ceremony of *heretication*, which will be more fully explained hereafter. On the contrary, it seems to have been a general custom of the *Waldenses*, to make confession of their sins to their teachers, and to receive absolution and penance from them. Such confession is mentioned in more than fifty of the Waldensian sentences and culpæ ; and, in a great part of these, the persons concerned state that they received penance and absolution. There are, I believe, however, only four cases in which the nature of the penance is stated. *Helyas*, 353, says, “ he confessed his sins to the said Waldensian, being “ instructed for that purpose by his father, and the said Waldensian absolved him from his sins, and imposed upon him penance for them, “ prayers and fastings.” *Johanna*, 356, says, “ she confessed her sins “ to the aforesaid John de Cerno, the Waldensian, and received absolu- “ tion and penance from him—namely, that she should fast on certain “ Fridays, and should say a certain number of times the prayer Pater- “ Noster.” *Huga*, 357, says, “ being instructed and admonished by her “ mother she confessed her sins to the aforesaid Waldensian, and received “ absolution and penance from him, that she should fast certain days, “ and should say a certain number of times, Pater-Noster.” *Bernarda*, 358, says, “ the said John de Cerno asked her if she was willing to con- “ fess her sins ? And she agreed to do it, and confessed her sins to him, “ and he absolved her, and enjoined her penance of fasting, and of say- “ ing, a certain number of times, the prayer Pater-Noster.”



“As to *the Church of Rome*, the Albigenses are said to believe, ‘that there are two churches, one merciful, [*benigna*] namely, their’s and the church of Christ; which retains that faith in which every one, and without which no one, can be saved: the other a cruel one [*maligna*], namely the church of Rome, which is the mother of fornications, the temple of the Devil, and Synagogue of Satan; and that no one can be saved in the faith of that church.’ f. 40. And elsewhere we read, ‘that no man can be saved, that is not received by them, and unless he die of their sect.’ f. 3.

“The Valdenses are said to have taught almost the same things: ‘that they are not subject to the Roman Pontiff, nor to the prelates of the Church of Rome: that they cannot be excommunicated by the Pope, nor the other prelates of that church: that they ought not to obey the Pope, when he commands them to forsake and abjure their sect, as condemned by the church: [but] that the Church of Rome sins, and acts unlawfully and unjustly against them, because it persecutes and condemns them.’ f. 96. And that they further taught ‘that the prelates of the Church of Rome, are blind leaders of the blind; do not preserve the truth of the Gospel, nor imitate the Apostolic poverty; and that the very Church of Rome is an house of lies.’ fol-129. b.<sup>o</sup>

[*Doctrines peculiar to the Albigenses.*]

“The opinions that are ascribed to the Albigenses but never to the Valdenses are these: ‘That there are two Gods and Lords; the one good and the other evil. That the creation of all things visible and corporeal, was not from God our heavenly Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ, but by the Devil and Satan, the evil God, who is the God

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<sup>o</sup> To what then does the agreement between these sects amount? I see nothing, but that each refused to swear, and opposed the Church of Rome?

of this world, and the maker and prince of it:’ f. 40— which they express elsewhere in this manner: ‘that it was not God that caused the earth to yield seed and bring forth fruit:’ f. 68—and elsewhere: ‘that the good God made all things [that are] invisible and incorruptible; and that the evil Prince, namely Lucifer, made all things [that are] visible and corruptible, and even human bodies.’ And in another place: ‘that there were two Gods, one good, the other bad; and that the bad God created all things visible.’ f. 121.<sup>10</sup>

“Since these things are to be met with in the sentence of Petrus Auterius one of their famous doctors, I am apt to think, not only that some of the Manicheans, who were banished from Asia, and came into Bulgaria, and afterwards went into the country of Tholouse, lurked amongst them; but that they had, many of them at least, embraced the Manichean opinions. And indeed, we ought not to conceal the truth. For although they are to be commended for having discovered many of the Romish errors in doctrine, and for their forsaking the communion of that church; yet we ought ingenuously to own their mistakes.

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<sup>10</sup> So *Guilielmus*, 148, “quod Deus non faciebat florere, nec germinare.”—*Geralda*, 159, “quod princeps hujus mundi Diabolus fecerat omnia corruptibilia.”—*Hugo*, 138, “quod Deus non faciebat florere, nec germinare.”—*Bernardus*, 132, “quod Deus non habebat in isto mundo nisi spiritus; et residuum erat de parte Luciferi; et quod Deus non faciebat florere, nec germinare, nec fructificare, set virtus terre.”—See also, *Petrus*, 131.—But the reader will understand, that I do not profess, in these notes, to give all the places where a doctrine, or rite, is mentioned, but only such as may afford additional support, or illustration, to those quoted in the text. On some points, this does not seem worth while; and he will not, therefore, suppose that when no note is added, the doctrine rests simply on the references in the text. I need hardly remind him of what has been already said of the *Paulicians* (see before, p. 67, et seq.), and request him to keep it in mind while he reads this statement of Albigenian doctrine.

And as their recommending to those they received into their communion, what they called the *Endura*, that is *fasting themselves to death*, was certainly an error in practice; so that we need not be ashamed to own that they sometimes erred in matters of faith. 'Tis rather to be wondered at, that in so barbarous an age, they should throw off so many errors, than that they should retain some.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> The translator has made this passage even more absurd and untrue than it is in the original. Limborch says, "non tantum aliquos Manichæos.....inter ipsos latuisse, sed et Manichæorum sententiam ab ipsis, aut saltem plurimis ipsorum fuisse receptam. *Et sane non est quod MANIFESTÆ CONTRADICAMUS VERITATI.*" But how could he talk of Manichæans *lurking among them*, or of Manichæan doctrine being held by even the greatest *part of them*? Of *whom*? Of the *genuine* Albigenses? Well, but who were they, and where did they live, and what do we hear of *them*? Whether the persons whom the Inquisitors called "heretics," and whom Limborch calls Albigenses, were Manichæans or not, people may dispute if they please; but, that they were all of one and the same sect, seems to admit of no doubt. In fact, the monstrous supposition which Limborch requires us to make, in order to save the credit of the Albigenses, is—that during sixteen years, the activity of the Inquisition laid hold of nearly five hundred of the "*lurking Manichæans*," or heterodox Albigenses; and never once had the good fortune to fall in with one single *genuine* Albigensian. Surely, though he did not venture to "*contradict* manifest truth," Limborch might have felt that he was sacrificing it to prejudice, when he made such a suggestion. "We need not be *ashamed* to own that they sometimes erred in matters of faith." Certainly not—what business is it of our's? We may be sorry for their sin, or their folly, but what have *we* to do with the *shame*? "We ought ingenuously to own their *mistakes*." Yes, to be sure;—there is nothing particularly ingenuous in owning other peoples' mistakes—but we ought no more to suppress, than to contradict, manifest truth, even when they fell into such a mistake as to *recommend* what they called the "*Endura*," which was most "*certainly an error in practice*." Of the horrible suicide, not only "*recommended*," but required, in this sect, the reader will find more



“ But besides, they are said also to have held the following opinions.

“ That all the *sacraments* of the church of Rome are vain and unprofitable, namely, the Eucharist, Baptism, Confirmation, Order, and Extreme Unction. f. 40.<sup>12</sup>

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presently; I now only call his attention to the *language*. The fasts of the Church of Rome are said to prove, that the Papacy is Antichrist; but when the Albigenian required his disciple, on the peril of his soul, to “abstain from meats” until he killed himself, and forbade the mother to give milk to her starving babe, it was “an error in practice;” and we ought not to wonder that these good people were a little incorrect in some trifling matters. The absurdity, however, which represents them as “retaining” the Manichæan errors, as if they had formed a part of the Romish creed, belongs to the translator. Limborch says, “*quam quod quibusdam implicati fuerint.*”

<sup>12</sup> This charge is very commonly brought only in general terms, and it seems as if those who confessed, had, in a great many cases, very little idea of what their teachers said, except, that they preached against the faith and sacraments of the church. Such a general statement (though in a great variety of expression—as “*contra fidem Ecclesie Romane*”—“*contra fidem catholicam*”—“*contra fidem et sacramenta Ecclesie*”—in fact, in twenty-three different forms of words) is contained in thirty-seven sentences or culpe, to which it is not worth while to refer. I was led to observe this variety of phraseology, in attempting to discover whether the confessions were answers to any regular series of questions, and whether they had that uniformity of phraseology which we might expect if the answers were framed by the notary, or even much coloured by him. I think, however, there is strong evidence, that, though much of the confession was probably elicited by what men “bred to the law” would call “leading questions,” yet the form of expression used was preserved—at least as much as it could be when translated into Latin—and that if the scribe had felt at liberty, merely to give what he considered as the sense of the answer, there would have been less variety of phraseology. For instance—several persons, of course, confess merely that they had heard the heretics “teaching and preaching.” This simple fact was naturally expressed by all in nearly the same words; but yet these words occur in eight different forms.



"As to the *Eucharist*, they are reported to have believed that there was not the body of Christ, and that there was nothing but mere bread. f. 39. b. f. 121.<sup>13</sup>

"As to the *Baptisms* [de Baptismo]: 'that they condemned the baptism of water, saying: that a man was to be saved by the laying on of hands upon those who believed them; and that their sins were to be remitted without confession and satisfaction:' f. 121—that 'no baptism availed any thing, no not their own.'<sup>14</sup> f. 68. a. We read also in the sentence of Petrus Raymundus Dominicus de Borno, that he heard Peter Auterii teaching, amongst other things, 'that the baptism of water made by the church, was of no avail to children; because they were so far from consenting to it, that they wept.' f. 176.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> *Geralda*, 159, "audivit...specialiter quod in hostia consecrata non erat corpus Christi."—*Poncius*, 191, "audivit errores...contra sacramentum altaris."—*Johanna*, 245, says, "reprobabant...ecclesie sacramenta et specialiter sacramentum altaris, de quo audivit eos dicentes quod ibi non poterat esse corpus Christi."—*Hugo*, 138, "audivit verba...contra...hostiam consecratam."—*Arnaldus*, 133, "contra fidem ecclesie Romane specialiter de sacramento altaris."—*Raymunda*, 137, "expresse contra hostiam consecratam."—*Bernardus*, 132, "vidit ibidem Petrum Auterii et Petrum Sancieri hereticos et audivit errores eorum, scilicet quod dicebant quod capellani faciunt plures Deos de pasta, et postea comedunt eos."

<sup>14</sup> It should be, "except their own." The words are, "nisi ille quem ipsi dabant;" but the translator has been misled by its being incorrectly quoted in Limborch's History, "nec ille," &c.

<sup>15</sup> So also *Geralda*, 159, "audivit verba et predicationem...contra baptismum."—*Pontius*, 191, "audivit errores hereticorum...contra baptismum."—*Hugo*, 138, "audivit verba et doctrinam dicti heretici...contra baptismum."—*Arnaldus*, 121, "audivit...quod baptismus ecclesie Romane nichil valet."—*Lombarda*, 105, "quod baptismus ecclesie qui fit in aqua nichil valebat."—*Petrus*, 84, "quod baptismus

"As to *Extreme Unction* : 'that the order of St. James, or Extreme Unction upon the sick, made by material oil, signified nothing ; and that they prefer imposition of hands' which the Inquisitors call execrable. f. 3.

"As to *Orders* : 'that they reproach and condemn the Constitution of the whole church of Rome, and deny all the prelates of it the power of binding and loosing ; saying ; that they cannot loose or bind other sinners, since they themselves are greater sinners [magis peccatores] ; but that they [the heretics] can give to those they receive, the Holy Spirit, in order to their salvation.' f. 3.

"As to *Matrimony* : that 'it is always sinful and cannot be without sin ;' and 'was never appointed by the good God.' f. 40. Also, 'that carnal matrimony between a man and woman, is not true matrimony, nor good, nor lawful, nor appointed by God ; but a quite different spiritual matrimony.' f. 82. b.<sup>16</sup>

"ecclesie Romane nichil valebat, quia fit in aqua corrupta, nec illi  
"de ecclesia Romana poterant dabant Spiritum Sanctum sed ipsi here-  
"tici faciebant verum baptismum, et dabant Spiritum Sanctum."

<sup>16</sup> The first of these references is to the sentence of *Peter Auterius*, the "famous doctor" before mentioned ; the other from that of *Petrus*, 178, "quod matrimonium carnale inter virum et mulierem non est verum matrimonium, nec bonum, nec licitum, nec Deus ipsum instituit, et quoddam asseris aliud spirituale matrimonium sicut ab hereticis didicisti." Beside these, and the confessions which relate to a denial of *all* the sacraments, this is expressly stated in some. *Geralda*, 159, "audivit verba & predicationem et doctrinam erroneam dicti heretici . . . contra matrimonium."—*Poncius*, 191, "audivit errores hereticorum contra . . . matrimonium."—*Lombarda*, 106, "quod baptismus ecclesie qui fit in aqua nichil valebat nec matrimonium."—*Petrus*, 84, "quod matrimonium carnale non erat licitum nec institutum."—*Bernardus*, 248, "item dampnabant matrimonium dicentes quod semper erat peccatum." See also *Poncius*, 197, and *Petrus*, 347.

“As to the *Incarnation of Christ*: ‘that the Lord did not take a real human body, nor real human flesh of our nature; and that he did not really arise with it, nor do other things relating to our salvation; nor sit down at the right hand of the Father with it, but only with the likeness of it.’ They affirm also, ‘that the most holy Virgin Mary, the mother of our Lord, neither is, nor was, a carnal woman, but their church, which they say is true penitence; and that this is the Virgin Mary.’ f. 40.<sup>17</sup> Or, as we read elsewhere: ‘that God never entered into the womb of the blessed Virgin Mary; and that he only is the mother, and brother, and sister of God, that keeps the commands of God the Father.’ f. 82. b. Likewise, ‘that it was impossible for God to be incarnate; because he never humbled himself so much, as to put himself in the womb of woman.’ f. 120. b.

“Concerning the *Resurrection of the dead*: they are charged with denying the resurrection of bodies; f. 120. b.—or: ‘there will be no future resurrection of human bodies, and although the souls of men shall come to judgment, they shall not come in their bodies;’ f. 146—which is elsewhere more distinctly explained:<sup>18</sup> ‘that they imagine

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<sup>17</sup> The passage referred to is in the sentence on *Peter Auterius*, 92, and is as follows, “Incarnationem quoque Domini Jesu Christi, ex  
“Maria semper virgine, quam superficietenus fantastice profiteris, la-  
“bis impiis, in rei veritate, blasfemas, cum verum corpus humanum,  
“et verum carnem hominis ex nostra natura ipsum denegas assumpsisse,  
“nec in ea vere, set solum in similitudine, surrexisse et alia nostre sa-  
“lutis opera peregissee, nec cum ea ad patris dexteram ascendisse, sanc-  
“tam quoque Mariam matrem Dei et Domini Jesu Christi non esse nec  
“fuisse mulierem carnalem asseris et mentiris, set tuam ac tuorum ec-  
“clesiam quam dicis esse veram penitentiam de impietate ac vanitate  
“sensus tui mentiendo confingis, et hanc esse Mariam virginem in tene-  
“bris dogmatizas.”

<sup>18</sup> It is not however explained away; the passage will be noticed presently.



a sort of spiritual bodies, and a sort of an inward man ; in which bodies, persons are hereafter to rise.' f. 40. One of the Albigenses is said to have believed, that ' when the souls of wicked men are gone out of their bodies, before and after judgment, they go through *los bausses*, and *los tertres*, that is, over rocks and precipices ; and that the Devil throws them [*dæmones præcipitent*] headlong from the rocks.' Also, ' that the souls of men, even after their separation from the body, have flesh and bones, hands and feet, and all members ; which though they are thrown by devils headlong from the rocks, and by this means tormented, yet can never die.' f. 146.

" As to the *adoration of the Cross* : ' that no man ought to adore the cross : ' f. 68—which in another place is very odiously represented, namely, ' that the sign of the Holy Cross, which the universal church worships as the emblem of our salvation, and the representation of our Lord's Passion, is a detestable emblem of the Devil.' f. 3. And the reason of this is added elsewhere : ' that the cross of Christ ought not to be adored ; because no man worships the gallows upon which his father was hanged.' f. 176.<sup>19</sup>

" As to the *human soul* : that souls were spirits banished from heaven because of their sins. f. 121.

" These are said to be the principles [dogmata] of the Albigenses, and they are NOT ONE of them ascribed to the *Valdenses*, who HAD QUITE different tenets, which are NEVER mentioned in the sentences of the *Albigenses*. They are such as these :

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<sup>19</sup> *Guilielmus*, 148, "quod homo non debebat adorare crucem."—*Poncius*, 191, "audivit errores hereticorum....contra venerationem crucis."—*Bernardus*, 132, "quod nullos debebat adorare crucem."—*Johanna*, 42, "audivit....specialiter quod crux non debebat adorari."—*Arnaldus*, 112, and *Arnaldus*, 121, "quod crux non debebat adorari."



[*Doctrines peculiar to the Waldenses.*]

“That *all judgment* is forbidden by God, and that of consequence 'tis a sin, and contrary to what God hath forbidden, for any judge to condemn any man to punishment or death, in any case, or for any cause whatsoever. And for this they apply these words of the Gospel, ‘Judge not that ye be not judged.’ f. 96.

“That the *Indulgences* given by the Prelates of the Church of Rome are of no avail, that there is no purgatory for souls after this life; and ‘that [consequently] the prayers and vows [suffragia] of the faithful for the dead cannot profit them.’ f. 96. This is elsewhere more distinctly explained: ‘that this life is the only purgatory and place for repentance for sins; and that when the soul goes from the body, it goes either to Paradise or Hell; and that therefore the Valdenses make no prayers or vows for the dead, because say they, those who are in Paradise do not need them, and those that are in Hell cannot reap any advantage by them.’ f. 92.

“That in the church there are but three *Orders*, namely of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. f. 146. b. It is imputed to them also as a crime, that though they were laymen, they preached from the gospels, epistles, and other books of the Holy Scriptures; whereas the preaching and exposition of the Scripture is entirely forbidden the Laity. f. 129.

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“From these instances it appears, that the opinions of the Albigenses and Valdenses were different. However, 'tis not to be doubted, but that oftentimes their enemies gave very vile and odious accounts of the doctrines they held; as will appear by comparing the several places in which they describe them. For the same opinion, which in one place appears extremely erroneous; in another,

when tis more fully explained and without spite, is harmless enough; of which the single instance of the resurrection of the dead is full proof. For sometimes [*alibi enim*] the Albigenses are accused, that they deny the resurrection of human bodies; as though they quite denied the resurrection of the dead; which yet in another place is more distinctly explained thus, that the dead shall arise with spiritual bodies.<sup>20</sup> And that their opinions have been misrepresented elsewhere, there can be no doubt, and it will appear upon a comparison of the several places, wherein they are recorded. *But that the opinions of the Albigenses and Waldenses were very different, cannot be denied.* FOR IF THEY HAD HELD THE SAME, NO REASON CAN BE ASSIGNED, WHY DIFFERENT ONES SHOULD HAVE BEEN ASCRIBED TO THEM. One would rather be inclined to believe, that as their persecutors greedily sought after every occa-

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<sup>20</sup> Limborch does not go so far as his translator, who says, that the doctrine when fully explained is "harmless enough;" he only says, "*eadem doctrina quæ uno loco admodum est depravata, alio paulo plenius et minus maligne proponitur.*" The passage to which he refers is in the sentence of Peter Auterius, which will be given in the next section; and it asserts, as explicitly as any other, that he *altogether denied* the resurrection of the body. The Inquisitor's words are "*Resurrectionem quoque corporum humanorum negas penitus, confingens quedam spiritualia corpora et quendam interiorem hominem, in quibus te et tuos resurrecturos,*" &c. It sounds very well to say that they expected the dead to rise in "spiritual bodies;" but perhaps we shall see reason to doubt whether they meant what we should understand by that expression; not only because such a belief would scarcely have been considered by the Church of Rome as a total negation of the resurrection, but because it will more fully appear what the doctrine was with which they are here charged. It may be added, that the same charge, in almost the same words, is brought against the sect in the sentence on *Amelius*, 38, "*Resurrectionem quoque corporum humanorum negant penitus, confingentes quedam spiritualia corpora in quibus resurrecturos se dicunt.*"

sion to punish them, they would have fastened on every one of them all the heretical opinions of the Valdenses and Albigenses; that so being burthened with numerous crimes, the Inquisitors might seem to have the more just pretence for condemning them.

“ For this very cause it may be justly concluded, that many other of those impious tenets that are ascribed by Baronius, Bzovius, and others, to the Albigenses and Valdenses, were invented out of mere hatred to them, and to render them detestable to the people; especially that impious opinion, which Eymericus Direct. Inquis. Par. 11. quæst. 14, imputes to the Valdenses, ‘ *Quod melius sit satisfacere libidini, quocunque actu turpi, quam carnis stimulis fatigari: sed sit (ut dicunt et ipsi faciunt) in tenebris licitum, quemlibet cum qualibet indistincte carnaliter commisceri, quandocunque et quotiescunque carnalibus desideriis stimulentur.*’ For if this had been their tenet, would there not have been one of that vast number of prisoners, that they condemned to such various punishments, to be found, that was infected with it? Or, if it could have been proved upon them, was the equity, humanity and compassion of the Inquisitors so very great, as to have concealed a crime, that would have been condemned by the common voice of mankind, and exposed those that were guilty of it to the most severe punishment and death? Would they by such a method of acting, have given the world occasion to censure them for persecuting, and cruelly punishing men merely for the sake of holding opinions different from the Roman Faith, though consistent with a due regard to a good conscience, when at the same time they might have accused them of so horrid an impiety? if they had been really such execrable persons, their crimes ought to have been publicly exposed; and thus they themselves would have sunk under the weight of infamy, and their prosecutors would have been so far from

being charged as bloody Inquisitors, that they would have deserved the universal applause.<sup>21</sup>

“ Hence we may learn what credit is to be given to popish writers, when they give us an account of the opinions and practices of those they call heretics. 'Tis their way to charge all that separate from their communion with impurity and lust, as though the only cause of their leaving the communion of the Church of Rome, was a dishonourable and vile love of women, and they have most impudently dared to reproach with this vice, persons that have been remarkable for their chastity and continence.<sup>22</sup>

[*Rites peculiar to the Albigenses.*]

“ Besides the above-mentioned differences of DOCTRINES between the Albigenses and Valdenses, they differed also in their RITES and CUSTOMS. For at first [in the first place] there were two sorts of Albigenses. Some professed their faith and used their customs and were called *Perfecti, seu Consolati*, perfect or comforted. f. 40. Others only entered into a covenant with these perfect ones, which

<sup>21</sup> Common honesty must carry the argument one step farther, and ask—if the Inquisitors “greedily sought after every occasion to punish them”—if they were all “bloody Inquisitors,” and “murderers,” and therefore “liars and knaves”—why in the world did they refrain from charging upon the Waldenses what other people said of them? If they had not the wit to invent calumnies, here were ready-made lies precisely to their purpose—why did not they use them?

<sup>22</sup> I here omit a long recrimination in which Limborch has indulged—first, because the vices which have arisen from the constrained celibacy of the Romish clergy are quite as notorious as they are abominable—secondly, because the subject, which is not very delicate, is treated in rather coarse language—and, thirdly, because it has nothing to do with our present purpose: which is not to set forth the notorious wickedness of the Romish priests, but to enquire how far those whom they called heretics were really the defenders of evangelical truth.



they call *la convenensa*,<sup>23</sup> the agreement, that at the end of life they would be *received* into their sect. ff. 15. b. 62. 70.

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<sup>23</sup> It would be tedious even to refer to all the cases of the persons who confessed that they had entered into this agreement; but a few extracts may illustrate its nature. The reader will observe that, in some cases, the heretics asked it of those whom they wished to proselyte, and I do not find that they required of them anything else. *Sapta*, 29, says, "Item fecit *pactum* hereticis, quod ipsi vocant *la convenensa*, quod peteret hereticos in infirmitate sua, ut reciperent eam et salvarent animam ipsius, et si evaderet quod servaret et teneret vitam et sectam ipsorum et observancias."—*Petrus*, 51, "fecit *pactum*, seu *convenienciam*, hereticis; quod reciperetur in fine suo ad sectam eorum."—*Petrus*, 41, "fecit *pactum* seu *conventionem* eisdem, quod vellet recipi in fine ad ordinem eorum."—*Bona*, 43, "fecit *pactum*, seu *convenienciam*, dictis hereticis; quod haberet eos, si posset, in fine suo, ut reciperent eam ad sectam suam."—*Aycelina*, 44, "fecit *convenienciam* et *promissionem* hereticis,"—*Guilielma*, 71, "fecit dicto Petro Raymundi heretico *pactum*, seu *convenienciam*, quod reciperetur, si esset infirma, ad sectam eorum. . . . Item in quodam infirmitate de qua convaluit, venit ad eam quidam homo, de quo perpendit quod erat hereticus, et petivit at ea si volebat *meliorari*, et ipsa quod non."—*Bernarda*, 75, "petiverant ab ea dicti heretici, quod promitteret eis, quod requireret et haberet eos in fine suo, ut reciperent eam id sectam suam."—*Alazayt*, 123, "Item Petrus Auterii petiit ab ipsa et a viro suo predicto, si volebant facere *convenienciam* sibi, quod in fine suo vellent recipi per ipsum vel aliquem de sociis suis ad sectam suam et dictus vir suus respondit, pro se et pro ipsa, quod sic."—*Beatrix*, 134, "fecit eidem heretico *convenienciam* quod in infirmitate sua, vel in fine suo, vellet eum ut juvaret eam ad salutem."—*Johannes*, 136, "Item Petrus Auterii hereticus, prima vice qua vidit eum, petivit ab ipso Johanne si volebat sibi facere *convenienciam*, cui concessit quod sic; sed non recordatur de verbis *conveniencie*."—*Beatrix*, 144, "genuflexit coram dicto Petro Auterii heretico, et ibidem ad requisitionem dicti heretici, concessit et promisit eidem heretico, quod volebat in fine suo recipi et *indui* per eundem ad sectam et ordinem suum."—*Raymundus*, 198, says, "tunc unus illorum hereticorum petivit ab eo quod faceret eis *reverenciam* seu *convenienciam*, et ipse respondit quod paratus erat facere omne bonum, sed tarde erat et volebat recedere," &c. *Raymun-*

This *reception* is often called *heretication*, and was performed after this manner to Benedictus Molinerii, in a certain illness that he laboured under : Bernard de Goch, one of the Albigenses, held the hands of the sick person between his own, and held a certain book over him, in which he read the Gospel of St. John, ‘ In the beginning was the Word,’ and delivered to him a fine thread, with which he was to be tied [cingeretur] for heresy, f. 120. b. [The rites administered to a sick woman were somewhat different : Petrus Auterii said, in the presence of the sick woman, ‘ Praise God ;’ either instructing the woman to say so, or saying so by himself. Then he laid his hand upon the woman, holding a certain book, and reading some words, but first put a white linen cloth upon her, and after he had read in the book, Peter and Aurelius [read Amelius] made many bows [genuflexiones] near her bed. ff. 86. a. 43. a. For this *reception* they were prepared by certain abstinences, which I gather from the sentence of Peter Raymundus Dominicus de Borno, who is said to have seen Peter Auterii with Peter Sancii, who [that is, Petrus Sancii] then kept those fasts, which they are obliged to do, who are to be admitted to the sect of the heretics. f. 176. b.<sup>24</sup>

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*da*, 100, says, of herself and her mother, “ item tunc dicti heretici dixerunt eis ‘ si volebant stare in *conveniencia* eorum,’ et ipsa respondit “ ‘ quod volebat stare in *conveniencia* Dei ;’ et aliter dicti heretici non “ declaraverunt eis quid volebat dicere predicta *conveniencia*.”

<sup>24</sup> I apprehend there is some mistake here, owing to Limborch’s not having observed, that this Peter Sancius was undergoing these fasts preparatory to his reception into the sect as a teacher—or, as we may call it, to his *ordination*. These persons were required to fast before their admission ; but I believe, that, beside the case in question, there are only two others. *Durandus*, 81, states, that he lived many weeks at Florence (in the diocese of Auch), with certain believers, “ cum quibusdam aliis credentibus, et cum Raymundo Fabri qui tunc faciebat

" This admission was believed to save the soul of the person admitted, and was called *spiritual baptism*, the con-

" abstinencias hereticorum, et volebat recipi in ordine eorum." This Raymund seems to have performed what was required, and to have become one of the sect (not merely one of the *credentes*, as the great majority were, having only entered into the *convenensa* that they would be *consolati*, or *hereticati*, at the point of death) for *Bernardus*, 89, confesses that " vidit pluries Raymundum Fabri hereticum, in domo patris sui jacentem, et comedentem, et bibentem, et in pluribus aliis locis, et associavit eum pluries de loco ad locum, et de villa ad villam, et cum eo vidit Arnaldum Martini in domo patris sui qui incipiebat facere abstinencias hereticorum ut fieret hereticus." Beside these, I am not aware of any similar case, except that of Peter Sancius, to which Limborch refers. There *Petrus*, 347, confesses that he saw Peter Auterius " cum Petro Sancii qui tunc faciebat abstinencias quas faciunt illi qui debent recipi ad sectam hereticorum, ad quam sperabat recipi in brevi, et salutavit dictum hereticum modo hereticali, videlicet junctis manibus, inclinato capite, dicendo ' benedicite.' Comedit cum dicto heretico et Petro Sancii de pane benedicto ipsius heretici." From these cases, it seems quite clear that those who were to be received into the class of *perfecti*, as teachers, were required to fast before their admission; but I do not find that this was required of others. On the contrary, many cases shew that it was not. Sometimes the heretics were sent for suddenly to receive sick persons who knew nothing about it, and who refused to be hereticated when they came—sometimes, the heretics when they came, refused to do it, but never on the ground of any such preparation being wanting, and I believe never on any but one of two grounds—either that the patient's recovery seemed possible, or that it was not known (and from the weak state of the patient could not be ascertained) whether there had been a previous agreement, or *convenensa*, with any of the *perfecti*, who were capable of making such agreements with the *credentes*. Beside this, however, there is another curious and very striking difference. It appears above, that Raymund Faber was seen eating and drinking after his reception; and Peter Sancius, perhaps, even while performing his preparatory fasts; whereas, those who were *hereticated* in the common way (though not as it seems required to fast *before*), were enjoined a perpetual fast *ever after*. Of this the reader will see more when we come to speak of the *endura*. I may here add, however, that this *Petrus Sancius* was afterwards admitted to

*solation, the reception, and good end.* f. 86. a.<sup>25</sup> f. 3. a. So that they were believed to be so sanctified by it, as that afterwards it was unlawful for them to be touched by a woman. Thus we read in the sentence of a woman, whose father had been received amongst the Albigenses [in *ordinem Albigensium*]; ‘that she was forbid by her father to touch him, because after his reception no woman ought to touch him, and from that time she never did touch him.’ f. 49. And in another woman’s sentence; ‘that ’twas unlawful for her to touch Petrus Sancii, and that she heard that

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the sect (*Arnalda*, 49, says, “vidit, et interfuit, et consenciit, quando Petrus Sancii fuit factus hereticus, seu receptus ad ordinem, et sectam, hereticorum per Petrum Auterii in domo ipsius et viri sui;” and *Bona*, 49, to the same effect) and makes a considerable figure in this book, as a leader of it. He seems, however, at length to have destroyed himself. *Hugo*, 138, says that he saw him, and adds, “qui Sancius tunc procurabat et accelerabat sibi mortem per minutionem, et balneationem, et frigidationem ipso vidente.”

<sup>25</sup>The case referred to, is *Bernardus*, 185, who, describing the heretication of his mother, says, “receperant tunc dictam matrem suam, et salvaverant sibi animam.” *Petrona*, 190, saw Peter Auterius, “et fecit, eidem heretico requirente, pactum et promissionem, quod volebat eum habere in fine suo, quod salvaret sibi animam sicut hereticus dedit sibi intelligere.”—*Raymundus*, 155, when his father was dying, saw the said Peter, “et scivit ibidem quod vocabatur Petrus, et quod erat hereticus, et quod venerat ad mandatum patris, qui petiverat eum ut veniret ad absolvendum dictum infirmum a peccatis suis.” *Poncius*, 95, confessed that, in a certain illness which he had had twenty years before, his son Peter, “duos hereticos, quos dictus Petrus bonos homines appellabat, ad ipsum Poncium tunc infirmum adduxit, dicens sibi quod ipsi heretici redderent animam ejus Deo.” *Helis*, 188, says, of Peter Auterius, “dictus homo petivit ab infirma, si volebat fieri bona christiana, et si volebat facere bonum finem.” In the sentence on *Stephana*, 5, the Inquisitor says, “impositionem manuum, quam ipsi vocant baptismum spirituale, seu consolamentum, vel receptionem, et bonum finem.”



'twas reported amongst them, that they neither touch a woman, nor suffer themselves to be touched by one.' f. 68. b.<sup>26</sup>

"But inasmuch as it was possible that the person received might return to his former pollutions, his reception was delayed to his last sickness, when there was no more hopes of recovery, that so he might not lose the good he had received;<sup>27</sup> for which reason some were not admitted, though one of the Albigenses was present; because 'twas not believed they would immediately die. Thus 'tis reported of Petrus Sancio, f. 68, that being called 'to hereticate a certain sick woman, she was not then hereticated; because he did not think it proper upon account of her not being weak enough' [adhuc erat fortis]. And afterwards, though the distemper grew more violent, Petrus Sancio did not hereticate her, because she recovered.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> So *Grazida*, 115, 'vidit quendam hominem in domo Petri Ysabe de Verduneto, cum Raymunda filia dicti Petri, de quo dicta Raymunda dixit eidem Grazide, postquam recesserant de dicta domo ambe similiter, quod erat multum bonus homo, et quod *pro toto mundo non tangat mulierem*, et quod salvabat animas, et quod aliquis non poterat salvari nisi ipse esset in fine ipsius; et tunc dicta Grazida suspicata est quod dictus homo esset hereticus."

<sup>27</sup> When the reader considers that these "pollutions" were, the touching, or being touched by, a female; and the swallowing a morsel of solid food, he will not perhaps wonder that the *credentes* did not desire to be fully admitted to the sect, as long as the hope of life remained; and I must add, that, so far as I can learn from these confessions, the teachers appear to have held out to their believers, that it was quite sufficient for them to "die the death of the righteous." I find in many confessions that they reprobated the vices of the priests, the superstitious rites and idolatry of the church, and taught the unlawfulness of oaths; but I do not learn that, in any single case, they propounded one scripture doctrine, or enforced one moral precept. The reader will remember that I speak of the *Albigenses*.

<sup>28</sup> *Bernarda*, 20, says, "set dictus maritus tunc convaluit, et ideo tunc non fuit hereticatus."—*Stephanus*, 20, "set non fuit factum tunc quia convaluit infirmus."

“As for those who were received during their illness, they were commanded to make use of the *Endura*, [ut se ponerent in *Endura*] that is *fasting* [inedia]; and to hasten their death by the opening a vein and bathing. Thus 'tis reported of a certain woman; that ‘she persevered in the abstinence which they call the *Endura*, many days; and hastened her bodily death, by losing her blood, frequent bathing, and greedily taking a poisonous draught of the juice of wild cucumbers, mixing with it broken glass, that by tearing of her bowels she might sooner die.’ f. 14. b.<sup>29</sup> Of another, 'tis said; ‘that she was forbidden by her mother-in-law to give her little daughter, that had been hereticated by Peter Sancii, any milk to drink, by which it died.’ f. 46. Another confesses, ‘that she had not seen her father, since his heretication, eating or drinking anything but cold water.’ f. 49. But one Hugo, who continued several days in the *Endura*, did afterwards, by his mother’s persuasion, eat and recover. f. 63. The same year, Peter Sancii invited him ‘to enter into the *Endura*, and so make a good end; but he would not agree to it till he came to die.’<sup>30</sup> The same Hugo saw,

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<sup>29</sup> This is the case of *Guilielma*, 33; and the confessions relating to it will be given hereafter; but, in the mean time, it is but justice to the Albigenes to say, that the *poisoning* seems to be peculiar to it; and not to have formed any part of the system—at least I have met with nothing like it in any other case. The fact seems to be pretty much as Limborch has stated it—that after the ceremony of *reception*, or *heretication*, the person received was *required* to abstain from food (or from every kind of food but water) and was *permitted* to seek earlier relief from the state of suffering this produced, by bleeding, and bathing; we have seen that this was practised by Peter Sancius himself, and I find no reason to suppose that it was disapproved by any leader, or member, of the sect.

<sup>30</sup> That is, he would not make any other agreement, than that when he should be at the point of death, he would enter into the sect “non consentiit tunc, set quando esset in ultimo vite sue.” p. 138.



‘that Sancius procured and hastened his own death, by bleeding, bathing, and cold.’ Petrus Auterii is said to have received another woman; ‘and after her reception, to have forbid, that any meat should be given to the said hereticated sick woman; and there were two women who attended her, that watched that there should be neither meat nor drink given her the whole night, nor following day, lest she should lose the good she had received, and contradict the order of Peter Auterii; although the said sick woman desired that they would give her meat. But the third day after she eat and grew well.’ f. 65. b. In the sentence of Peter Raymundus, of the Hugos, we read these things concerning the Endura. ‘You voluntarily shorten your own corporal life, and inflict death upon yourself; because you put yourself in that abstinence, which the heretics call Endura, in which Endura you [have now] remained six days, without meat or drink, and wouldst not eat, neither wilt, though oftentimes invited to it.’ f. 82. b. However, all of them did not care to subject themselves to so severe a law. For we read of a certain woman, ‘that she would not suffer her sick daughter, although near death, to be received; because then her said daughter must be put in the Endura.’ f. 71. There is also an instance of a woman, who for fear she should be taken up by the Inquisitors, put herself in the Endura; and sending for a chirurgeon, ordered him to open one of her veins in a bath; and after the chirurgeon was gone, she unbound her arm in the bath, that so the blood running out more freely, she might sooner die. After this she bought poison in order to destroy herself. Afterwards she procured a cobbler’s awl, which in that barbarous age they call *alzena*, intending to run it into her side: but the women disputing among themselves, whether the heart was

on the right side or the left, she at last drank up the poison, and died the day after. f. 30. b.<sup>31</sup>

“They had also a peculiar manner of saluting each other, by embracing, putting their hands to both sides, and turning their head three times to each shoulder, saying every time, ‘Praise the Lord’ [benedicite]: which manner of salutation seems to have been very common among them; because we find it mentioned in the sentences of many of them, [plurimorum] and was performed sometimes with bended knees; sometimes by putting their hands down, even to the ground. ff. 59. b. 176. b. 120. b. 9. b. Sometimes also this custom was insisted on: so we read of a certain person, f. 91, ‘being required by the said heretic, to bend the knee before him, and say, ‘Praise ye the Lord’ [benedicite]; he bent on his knee, and said before him, ‘Praise ye the Lord’ [benedicite]. The heretic answered; ‘May God bring you to a good end.’ And of a certain woman, f. 89, ‘that she saw a certain person bowing [genuflectentem] before Peter Auterii, in her aforesaid house; and then she was required to make her amendment [melioramentum]<sup>32</sup> before the said heretic, as the other did.

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<sup>31</sup> This is the same case of *Guillelma*, 33, as has been before referred to, p. 250. The confessions relating to it (as I have said) will be given hereafter; but as I there stated, that the *poison* was no part of the Albigensian system, so I must here make the same remark respecting the *alzena*. The reader will see why it was bought; and also see that the statement in the text is not quite correct. It was not “for fear she should be taken by the Inquisition,” but in compliance with the rules of the sect, that she placed herself in *endura*; but having placed herself in *endura*, and finding that she did not die so soon as she had expected, she was afraid the Inquisition would discover what she had done, and was led to use more violent means of self-destruction.

<sup>32</sup> This does not seem to have been a term in general use among



And then she also began to bend the knee before the said heretic, and knew not how to make the aforesaid amendment; upon which, they who were present began to laugh, which made her blush and go away. We read of another, f. 70—that he agreed with Peter Auterii, ‘that he would commend himself to him; that he might pray to God for him; and began to bow the knee before him: and that Peter Auterii said, “Ye may not do it; for this is not the place;” and so sent him away, that he might not bow the knee before him, which he was willing and had began to do.’ Nor was this manner of salutation required only from those who were admitted, but also made use of by those who were called perfect; and admitted others, as often as they met one another. Thus we read in the sentence of Amelius de Perlis, that he and Peter Auterius saluted each other with mutual adoration before the Inqui-

them—at least I do not find it any where else among the hundreds of Albigensian confessions, or anything like it, except in one case (*Guilielma*, 71, cited before, p. 245, n.) where the heretic asked the sick person “si volebat meliorari,” and here the word used had obviously a different meaning. In this case it meant *heretication*, in the former only that *genuflexion*, or *adoration* as it is called, which is mentioned in the greater part of the confessions. I mention the word, however, because it occurs in one other place in the book—and that is in a *Waldensian* sentence. The Inquisitor tells the heretic (*Johannes*, 262) that he had sinned, “absolucionem ac penitenciam quam *melioramentum* vocant recipiendo.” This is the *only* instance that I know of, which looks as if the Albigenses, and Waldenses, had any peculiar religious term (if I may so speak) in common; and the reader will observe that it occurs only once in an *Albigensian* confession, and once in a *Waldensian* sentence, and even then with widely different meaning. Considering the number of confessions, and the frequency with which the *thing* implied in each case is mentioned, it seems most probable that the term employed thus *singularly* <sup>in each case</sup> in which it was used at all, was one not common, and perhaps misapplied. Except in the two places here mentioned, I do not recollect to have seen the word *melioramentum* in any other than its legal sense, or barbarously used to signify an increase, or addition.

sitors; and that they both adored each other, after an heretical manner, before them, by falling on their faces on the ground; and said that they were of the same sect; and acknowledged that they had elsewhere oftentimes adored one another after the same manner. f. 16. b.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> I apprehend, that if it were worth while to cite all the cases, it would appear, that this statement confounds together *salutation*, and *adoration*, which seem to have been different things. The words of one or two confessions may shew this—*Guilielmus*, 61, says, “Item, quando *salutabat* hereticos amplexabatur eos, et vertebat caput ad utrumque latus, dicendo ‘Benedicite,’ sicut fuerat doctus per eos; et idem vidit fieri ab aliis credentibus quos nominat. Item, *semel adgravit* Jacobum Auterii hereticum, junctis manibus, inclinando se ter super unam bancam coram eo, et dicendo qualibet vice ‘Benedicite.’”—*Guilielmus*, 62, says, “*pluries salutavit* hereticos, extracto capucio, inclinando caput, junctis manibus. Item, *adoravit semel* Petrum, et Jacobum, Auterii hereticos, dicendo ‘Boni Christiani, benedictionem Dei et vestram,’ inclinando se ter et flectendo genua coram eis, et dicendo qualibet vice ‘Benedicite.’ Item quando veniebant heretici salutabat eos aliquociens modo hereticali, ponendo manus suas super humeros, et vertendo caput ad utrumque humerum ipsorum.” These cases may, perhaps, be sufficient to shew, that there was a real difference between the *salutation* and *adoration* which are so constantly mentioned; but I believe there is in some cases a laxity of expression, in the confessions of those who did not know much of the language, or practices, of the sect, with which they had had, perhaps, only a short and slight intercourse. In this way of asking the blessing of the heretics (*petens benedictionem*), various forms of expression were used—thus, *Raimonda*, 12, “Boni Christiani, rogate Dominum pro nobis, quod perducat nos ad bonum finem.”—*Bernardus*, 29, “salutavit hereticos amplexando, amoto capucio. Item una vice, quando recedebat ab hereticis, capite inclinato, et manibus junctis, reverenter et humiliter se inclinans, dixit, ‘Domine commendate nos Deo, et orate Dominum quod perducat nos ad bonum finem, et det nobis de hono suo.’ Item, alia vice, in recessu ab eis, inclinando se, et capucio abstracto, dixit ‘Boni Christiani, orate Deum pro nobis.’”—*Bernarda*, 29, “*semel*, cum aliis personis, coram Petro, et Jacobo, Auterii hereticis, fecit reverentiam eis, sicut vidit alios facientes, inclinando se profunde coram

" They fasted three days a week on bread and water. f. 120. b.<sup>34</sup> A certain sick man was told, ' that he must have no food unless he could repeat the Pater Noster.' f. 49.<sup>35</sup>

[*Rites peculiar to the Waldenses.*]

" We read of the Valdenses that they had certain elders, (*Majores*) of their sect. f. 147. Thus John of Lorain was called *Majoralis* of that sect; and Christian, and John of Chabley [*Chalons*], *majores*.

" 'Tis reported of them also, ' that they prayed on their knees before and after dinner, leaning on a table.'<sup>36</sup>

" eis, dicendo, ' Boni Christiani, benedictionem,' et ipsi respondebant. " ' A Deo habeatis et a nobis.' "—*Arnaldus*, 46, " pluries fecit reverentiam hereticis, inclinando caput, junctis manibus, dicendo ' Domini rogate Deum pro nobis.' "—*Raymundus*, 101, saw Peter Auterius and Amelius, " et salutavit eos, capucio extracto, dicens, sicut fuerat edoctus, ' Boni Christiani, Deus teneat vos in gratia sua.' "

<sup>34</sup> I do not find this fasting mentioned anywhere else; and apprehend, that what is here said applies only to the *Perfecti*, or leaders of the sect. Their diet, at all times, seems to have been peculiar. As their followers appear to have been in the constant habit of sending them presents of food, marketing and cooking for them, and, indeed, in a good measure to have supplied them with what one of them calls, " necessaria in victualibus," we meet with almost innumerable notices on the subject. Fish, very frequently—fish-pies, cakes, fine bread, meal, vegetables, vegetable-broths, fruit, wine, &c.—but I find no mention whatever of milk, cheese, butter, eggs, or any kind of flesh. My reason for making this remark, if not obvious, will appear hereafter.

<sup>35</sup> This is the same case (*Bona*, 110,) as has been already referred to. I do not know of anything in the book which resembles, or explains, it.

<sup>36</sup> Or rather kneeling over a bench, or form; the expression commonly used is " flexis genibus inclinati super bancam." Nearly sixty persons confess having prayed with them; and more than half of that number state, that it was " before and after" dinner, or supper. It is repeatedly mentioned that they used the Lord's prayer; but I do not

This occurs in almost all the sentences of the Valdenses. 'Twas also customary with them to say grace over their

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find mention of any other; and know not whether it is to be inferred from the case of *Agnes*, 359, "post cenam dictus Bartholomeus dixit, "quod orarent pro illis qui dabant eis ad comedendum, et benefaciebant eis; et postea sederunt, et dictus Bartholomeus dixit multa verba, "que videbantur sibi bona;" but it does not appear that he prayed at that time, or meant more than that they would pray for their benefactors generally. Several cases shew that their prayers were followed by preaching, or exhortation; and I believe only one (*Jacobus*, 345) speaks of their praying *after* teaching. One or two extracts may illustrate this part of the subject. *Martina*, 365, "oravit pluries, in diversis "temporibus, cum pluribus Valdensibus, secundum modum orandi "dictorum Valdensium, videlicet, flexis genibus, inclinata super bancam, dicendo pluries Pater Noster, secundum doctrinam, et informationem, Valdensium." *Helyas*, 354, "post prandium dictus Valdensis "dixit, quod debebant orare, et quod facerent sicut ipse, et dicerent "Pater Noster; et dictus Valdensis, flexis genibus, posuit se coram "quadam banca, inclinatus super eam, et ipse et alii quos nominat "fecerunt similiter, orando cum eodem, et dicendo Pater Noster; et, "post oracionem, dictus Valdensis sedendo predicavit eis multa verba "de Evangeliiis, et Epistolis," &c. *Stephanus*, 354, "oravit cum eis "secundum modum eorum, dicendo Pater Noster pluribus vicibus, "flexis genibus, inclinatus. Et post oracionem, audivit verba et moniciones dicti Johannis de Cernone," &c. *Bartholomeus*, 355, says, "jacuerunt in domo sua, et cenaverunt, et post cenam oraverunt inclinati super quandam cayssiam [*fr. caisse, chest*] flexis genibus, secundum modum ipsorum; et ipse oravit cum eis, et steterunt in dicta "oracione tam diu quod potuerunt dixisse LXXX, vel C, vicebus oracionem Pater Noster." *Petrus*, 368, says, "post prandium dicti Valdenses dixerunt quod debebant orare, et quod facerent sicut viderent "eos facientes, et dicerent oracionem Pater Noster. Et tunc Valdenses, "flexis genibus coram quadam banca inclinati, steterunt super eam "dicendo Pater Noster, tam diu quod potuerunt dixisse X vicibus "oracionem Pater Noster,.....et post oracionem audivit verba, et "moniciones, predicti Stephani Bordeti Valdensis." *Petrus*, 367, "cum "aliis personis quas nominat, oravit cum eis secundum modum orandi "ipsorum; videlicet, flexis genibus inclinati, et apodiati [*fr. appuyer, to support*] super aliquam bancam dicendo Pater Noster multis "vicibus."



meat [mensæ benedicere]; because Perrin Faber<sup>37</sup> was accused, 'that he eat and drank with the Valdenses, at the same table that he had been blessed by them.' f. 109. b.<sup>38</sup>

" 'They used to compare themselves with the Apostolical life and perfection; and boast that they were equal to them in merit; and that they preserved and imitated the Evangelic and Apostolic poverty;' f. 129. b.—on which account they obtained the name of the poor men of Lyons.

" Besides this, they had other customs different from the common way of living. Thus we read, f. 129. b. that 'the said sect of the Valdenses, separated and differed in other things from the common life and manners of the faithful.'<sup>39</sup>

And, lastly, we read in the sentence of John Philibert, a Presbyter, 'that the Valdenses preached to their believers sometime [sometimes] after supper, in the night, out of the Gospels and Epistles, in the vulgar language.' f. 123. b.

<sup>37</sup> This should be Gerardus de Vincendat. f. 110, or p. 231.

<sup>38</sup> This benediction of the table has been already referred to in the xxix. Canon of the Council of Narbonne, p. 198. It is mentioned in several confessions; but with little, or no explanation. *Gerardus*, 231, "comedit et bibit, cum eis in mensa quam ipsi benedixerant."—*Agnes*, 359, "vidit eos benedicentes mensam." Much the same is stated by *Petræta*, 235—*Huguetus*, 240—*Petrus*, 352—*Bernarda*, 358—*Helys*, 365—*Martina*, 365—*Johannes*, 373.

<sup>39</sup> I do not imagine that the Inquisitor meant more by this, than what we should familiarly express by saying, that they were a singular set of people who had some odd ways of their own—his words are, "Item, dicta, secta Valdensium, in nonnullis aliis, a communi conversatione fidelium, vita et moribus dissidet, et discordat; sicut per inquisitionem, et examinationem, tum ipsorum Valdensium, quam credentium eorundem, et precipue per confessiones illorum qui ab illa secta et heresi convertuntur, inquisitoribus conpertum est et apertum."

“ Since therefore there is so great a diversity in the opinions and customs of the Albigenses and Valdenses, 'tis very evident that they were two distinct sects, both of them abhorring the communion of the Church of Rome: but in many things differing from each other. This [difference] appears most plainly from these acts; for all those that received sentence, to page 92, are Albigenses: Stephen Porcher is the first of the Valdenses, mentioned in the same page. Page 96. follows the sentence against John Brayse, the Valdensian. After that, the Albigenses and Valdenses are condemned promiscuously, but in such a manner, as that at first view, one may know one from the other. The principal persons of the *Albigenses*, who received others, and are mentioned in the several sentences, are Petrus Auterii, James, his Son; and William, Peter's brother; Petrus Raimundi de Sancto Papulo, Aimericus Barrotti, Amelius de Perlis, Andreas de Padris, Octavius, Peter Sancier de Garda, Bernardus Audoyne de Monte Acuto, [Poncius of Axs, Poncius de Rica of Avignon, and also, f. 119. b. among others is named Aymericus de Colleto, Bishop of the Albigensian heretics. The principal *Valdenses* who are named are Christinus and Johannes de Chalo, or Chabillone, *Majores* of that sect. Johannes Moran, Petrus and Rotbertus Fochardi, Girardus Provincialis, Girardus Burgundus, or Viennensis; Perrinus Belys, Stephanus Porcherius, Johannes Breyssan,]<sup>40</sup> and a great

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<sup>40</sup> The passage inserted in brackets seems to have been accidentally omitted by Chandler. I have translated it as it stands, though I think Limborch was mistaken in calling Aymericus de Colleto, a “bishop of the *Albigensian* heretics”—his words are, “*episcopus hæreticorum Albiensium*,” but, in the passage referred to, (I believe the only one in which the person is mentioned) he is called “*episcopus hereticorum Albensium*.” This, if *Albigensian* were meant, is a mistake which the notary was not likely to have made; and it is more probable,

number of others, mentioned fol. 93, 101, 106, 123, 146. b. From hence I conclude, *that they were not only two distinct sects originally, but that they were not united into one church afterwards, at least in the year 1320, that is half an age [an age and a half] after their first rise.*

“ I cannot however deny, that Ivonetus, who lived about those times, attributes many things to the *Valdenses*, which in these acts are ascribed to the *Albigenses*, namely, that they are divided into two parties. ‘ There are some,’ says Ivonetus, ‘ who are accounted *perfect*: these are properly called the Poor men of Lyons. All are not taken in under this character, but are first instructed themselves, a long while, that they may know how to teach others. These *perfect* declare that they have nothing of their own, neither houses nor possessions, nor certain dwellings. And if they had any wives before, they put them away. They say they are the true successors of the apostles, and are the masters and confessors of others; go visiting about the countries, and confirming their disciples in their error: these disciples bring them all things necessary. Into whatever place they come, they give notice of their arrival: they are met by great numbers in some safe

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(especially as he constantly used similar abbreviations) that he meant it as a contraction for *Albanensium*. If there had been a bishop of the *Albigensians*, I think we should have heard more of him, and should not have found them going to Lombardy for orders. Reinerius Saccho, as we shall see, divides the Cathari into three principal sects, or bodies, of which he places the Albanenses first; and he states that the heretics of Thoulouse were a branch of that sect. “ *Nota, quod Cathari Ecclesia* “ *Tolosanæ, et Corozenses, tenent errores Gelosimaze et Albanensium;*” and, as the person who speaks of Aymericus de Colleto states, that he had frequently visited the heretics in Lombardy, it is not unlikely that he had seen an *Albanensian* bishop; who, if he had been an *Albigensian* bishop, must, I think, have been seen by a good many others, and have made a greater figure in this book.

and secret place, to see and hear them. They send them the best of meat and drink. They appoint collections for support of their poor, their masters and students, who have nothing of their own ; or else to inveigle others, who are drawn over to their party by the love of money.' Pegna in Direct. par. 2. com. 25. Most of these things are ascribed in these acts to the Albigenses ; so that they sometimes seem to have been confounded with one another.<sup>41</sup>

" On the other hand, Pegna and Eymericus seem to have acknowledged a difference between them. For Pegna, upon Eymericus's Directory of the Inquisitors, par. 2. comment. 38, calls the Sacrament of the Albigenses, *consolamentum*,<sup>42</sup> the consolation ; and adds, that their other

<sup>41</sup> I do not know what Ivonetus said, except from what is here quoted ; but it does not appear to me, that he did confound the two sects. He states, indeed, that the Waldenses, like the Albigenses, and like most other sects, were divided into leaders and followers ; and he adds what is corroborated by other evidence, that in each sect the leaders were called *perfect*. This to be sure is a resemblance ; but all the rest seems to me to shew, not so much that they were similar, as, that they were similarly situated ; and is only what one might expect to find stated respecting any sect that was persecuted by the Church of Rome. The leaders of both sects went about privately amongst their followers ; and were secreted and supported by them. I see nothing that can be called peculiarly Albigensian ; but there are three points which were, I believe, peculiar to the Waldenses. The Albigenses did not, that I know of, claim to be the true successors of the Apostles in the same way as the Waldenses—they were not, as we have seen, like them, the confessors of others—and that they did not profess to have nothing of their own, will, I think, appear hereafter.

<sup>42</sup> Limborch's meaning is, that Pegna calls the *consolamentum* "a sacrament of the *Albigenses*;" thereby representing it as something peculiar to them ; and such it undoubtedly was ; at least it did not belong to the *Waldenses*. His words are "*Consolamentum vocat Albigensium sacramentum.*"



sacrament was the blessing of bread. ‘This,’ says he, ‘is a sort of breaking bread, which they daily use at dinner and supper: ’tis performed after this manner. When the Puritans [Cathari sive Catharæ] (so he calls the Albigeneses) are come to the table, they all say the Lord’s Prayer; in the mean while, he who is the principal person amongst them, either as to riches or dignity, takes in his hand one or more loaves, according to the number of those that are present; and saying, “the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you [us] all always;” he breaks the loaf or loaves, and distributes to all that sit down, whether they are Puritans [Cathari] or only their believers. And in this they differ from the Poor Men of Lyons; for they perform this ceremony or blessing [*conficiunt seu benedicunt*] only once in a year.’<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> This consecrated bread, *panis benedictus*, is very frequently mentioned in the Book of Sentences; and I was led to pay particular attention to it, in endeavouring to discover whether the Albigeneses had any rite analogous to the Eucharist. I cannot, however, find that they had. Whether the form which is here given (and which agrees pretty much with the statement of Reinerius Saccho, and was probably taken from him by Pegna) is correct, I do not know; for though fifteen persons state, that they had seen the benediction of the bread, yet none of them give any detailed account of the manner in which it was performed. Indeed it is somewhat remarkable, that this bread should be mentioned in only 118 confessions; and that, of the persons making these, so small a number should state that they had seen the rite performed. *Raymundus*, 28, “comedit de illo pane quem heretici tenent in manibus, et dicunt aliqua verba, in principio mense.”—*Raymunda*, 119, says, “dictus hereticus antequam poneret se ad mensam fecit de pane benedicto.”—*Sapta*, 29, “comedit de pane hereticorum quem vocant panem *sancte orationis*”—and *Bernardus*, 30, uses the same words. The Inquisitor in passing sentence on *Petrus*, 34, says, “Item comisti pluries de pane benedicto per eos (seu potius maledicto) quam ipsi panem *sancte orationis* appellant.” It seems to have been considered as a sort of curiosity, or relic, by the members of the sect; and

“ Of the *Valdenses*, Eymericus thus writes, P. 3. Num. 112—“ Those among them that are perfect, put in the

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to have been given sometimes by the leaders to their followers, and sometimes by them to one another. *Guilielmus*, 152, “comedit semel de pane benedicto per Jacobum Auterii hereticum predictum, quem dictus hereticus dedit ei.”—*Sibilia*, 67, “comedit de pane, quem Petrus Auterii hereticus dedit sibi semel; et aliquando Sancius Borelli, socer suus, dedit sibi de pane quem aportabat de mensa hereticorum.”—*Bernardus*, 132, says, “mater sua dedit sibi aliquantulum de pane, dicens quod erat de pane benedicto hereticorum; et ipse accepit, et comedit.”—*Johannes*, 135, “accepit, et tenuit, de pane benedicto hereticorum.”—*Petrona*, 198, “comedit semel de pane benedicto ab heretico; et conservavit de dicto pane multis annis.”—*Guilielma*, 161, “soror sua aportavit sibi quandam petiam panis, dicens quod erat panis benedictus, seu *signatus*, per dictum hereticum, quem mittebat sibi; et accepit et conservavit in archa sua, per aliquos menses.”—*Johanna*, 112, “quadam vice victa Petrona portavit dicte Johanne, unam parvam petiam panis, dicens quod erat *panis de Deo*, et Petrus Auterii mittebat eum sibi, ut comederet; et ipsa accepit, et posuit in quodam loco.”—*Esclarmunda*, 193, “aliquociens accepit de pane benedicto per hereticum, et comedit, et dedit aliis ad comedendum.”—*Bernarda*, 192, “portavit eidem mulieri quandam petiam panis de quo audivit quod erat panis benedictus per hereticos.”—*Guilielma*, 71, “comedit semel de pane benedicto hereticorum; et habebat in eo magnam devotionem.” I do not know that anything else in the book throws light on the subject. I have already said, that it is mentioned in 118 confessions—that is, *sentences* and *culpe*; both of which being recitals of confessions, I take the liberty here, and elsewhere, to include under one general term, for brevity's sake; and I mention it, that I may not mislead the reader, (as I am afraid I may have already done) by speaking of *confessions*, as if they were distinct from the sentences and culpe, which are in fact only extracts from them, and tell us all that we know of the confessions. Of the persons making these 118 confessions,—6 only stated that they had seen or received the bread; and not that they had eaten—13, that they had eaten without saying how often—35 used the various expressions, *bis*, *bis vel ter*, *ter vel quater*, *quater vel quinquies*, *sexies et amplius*, *aliquociens*, *aliquando*, *pluries*, *frequenter*, *multociens* and (in only one case) *ociens* quod nescit numerum—34, that they had eaten but *once*. I mention these numbers, that

upper part of the shoe, or *Zabbata*, a sort of a Escutheon, as a sign, from which they are called *Inzabbatati*. They have one among them, superior to the rest, whom they call *Majoralis* or Elder, to whom alone, and to no other, they yield obedience. When they sit at table, they bless in this manner: "He who blessed the five barley loaves and two fishes, in the desert, to his disciples, bless this table to us." And when they rise, they repeat those words of the Revelation; "Blessing, and honour, and wisdom, and thanks, and glory, and strength, be unto our God for ever and ever. Amen." Always holding their eyes and hands lift up to heaven.' This account is agreeable to what we read of the Valdenses, in the Book of Sentences of the Thoulouse Inquisition, but much more explicate and distinct.<sup>44</sup>

"The same Eymericus, Num. 88, &c. charges these heretics, of his time, with many equivocations and tricks, by which they endeavour to deceive the Inquisitors, when they interrogate them concerning their faith, viz. 'If they are asked, "do you believe the sacrament of Baptism, necessary to salvation?" they answer; "I believe." By which, they mean their own private faith, [quod ipsi habeant fidem] and not their believing the doctrine they are asked about: or, "if it pleases God, I believe well;" meaning, that it is not pleasing to God, that they should believe as the Inquisitors would have them: or, by returning the question, "Sir, how do you believe?" and when the In-

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the reader may judge (as far as one can from such scanty materials) whether it was a rite, or practice, which was generally observed, or required of the members of the sect. As to what is here said of the Valdenses, it may be more properly noticed hereafter.

<sup>44</sup> That is, it is not contradicted; but I do not think the Book of Sentences contains anything which confirms it, except what is already before the reader.

quisitor answers, "I believe the faith of the Church of Rome," they reply, "I believe so;" meaning that they believe the Inquisitor believes as he says; not that they believe as he doth.' These and other like things he affirms that he observed, during the administration of his office.

"I have been the longer on this account of the Albigenses and Valdenses, that every one may judge *whether they were one or two different sects. To speak my own mind freely, they appear to me to have been two distinct ones: and that they were entirely ignorant of many tenets, that are now ascribed to them. Particularly the Valdenses seem to have been plain men, of mean capacities, unskilful and unexperienced; and if their opinions and customs were to be examined without prejudice, it would appear, that amongst all the modern sects of Christians, they bare the greatest resemblance to that of the Mennonites.*"

This long extract from Limborch seems to me sufficiently to prove, that the Albigenses and Waldenses were distinct sects; and this fact I shall also endeavour still more fully to establish, by the testimony of some authors who wrote both before and after the time of the Book of Sentences. There is, however, one more point in the book itself, which I wish first to notice; because it seems clearly to shew, that the Albigenses and Waldenses treated of in it, not only held very different opinions, but were two classes of persons who were so far from fellowship or making common cause, that they were not drawn together even by persecution, and, in fact, had little or no intercourse with each other.



It seems that the Waldenses, with whom the Inquisition of Thoulouse was concerned during the period in question, were a colony from Burgundy. *Perrin*, 230, is described as "a Burgundian, born in a town which is called Cortena, in the diocese of Besançon, and then living in the diocese of Auch." In his confession, made before the Inquisition of Thoulouse, on the 21st of August, 1312, he refers to his having been formerly examined before the Inquisitor of heretics in Burgundy. He afterwards (15th of May, 1314,) confesses, that since that former confession, "he had many times visited some Waldenses in the diocese of Auch, in Gascony." It also appears by the sentence on *Perrin*, 264, who is described as a native of the diocese of Besançon, but then living in the diocese of Auch, that he had formerly made a confession of Waldensian heresy, before the Inquisitor of heretical pravity, in Burgundy.

*John Philibert*, 252, a priest, who is described as a native of Burgundy, at that time resident in the diocese of Auch, states, in his confession (29th of Oct. 1311), that "about twenty-eight years had elapsed since he was sent from Burgundy, with another person whom he names, with letters of the Inquisitor, to seek for a certain Waldensian fugitive called Ruffus Jaubertus, and they came to the diocese of Auch; and afterwards, he returned from Gascony into

“Burgundy, to those who had sent him. After  
“some time, he returned, of his own free will,  
“into Gascony, where he remained afterwards  
“for many years in the diocese of Auch; and  
“while he stayed there, he was led by some  
“Burgundians, whom he names, to the love and  
“society and communion of the Waldenses.”—*Stephen*, 354, described as the son of a Burgundian dwelling at Alzonne, states, that twenty-five or thirty years before his confession (26th of May, 1320,) he saw two men at his father’s house; and his mother conjured him not to say that he had seen them, because “the Inquisitors persecuted them in Burgundy.”—*Peter*, 368, in a similar case, about seven years before the 12th of July, 1320, was told by his mother not to betray some strangers, “because the King, “and the people, persecuted them, because they “were of those men who, in Burgundy, were “called Waldenses.”—*John*, 373, confesses (6th of Aug. 1320,) that thirty years and more ago, his mother, or grandmother, gave him a similar charge, “because they were of those who were “called Waldenses; and in Burgundy they “were taken by the Inquisitors, and burned “when they could be found.”

From these extracts, we learn that there had been a persecution of the Waldensians in Burgundy, some years before the period of the Book of Sentences; and that some of the fugitives had



found refuge in Gascony. That they remained undiscovered till this period, seems improbable ; but (whether it was the first or not) it appears that search was made for them about this time ; and a considerable number were taken.—*Ade-mar*, 217, confesses that he remained in the Waldensian faith “until the time in which the “Burgundians began to be apprehended in Gascony, by the mandate of the Inquisitor of “Tholouse ;” and we may reasonably suppose, that as he thought that a sufficient reason for renouncing his faith, he lost no time in coming to confess ; and it appears that he did this, 18th of May, 1312. Others refer to this search also ; *William*, 217, in a confession made 14th of Nov. of the same year, speaks of meeting two fugitives “at the time when the Burgundians were apprehended in Gascony, for the Waldensian heresy ;” and *Peter*, 375, confesses (9th of Feb. 1312,) that he had been of the sect “ten years or thereabouts, until he heard that the Burgundians “were being apprehended in Gascony, by command of the Inquisitor of Thoulouse.”

These testimonies might lead us to suppose, that the Waldenses in question were Burgundians, or their descendants, or connexions ; but, in fact, this is distinctly stated with respect to almost all of them. I have already said that the number of persons charged with

Waldensian heresy is *ninety-two*. Of these there can be no doubt whatever respecting more than *eight* ; and with regard to them, though it is not obviously certain that they were Burgundians by birth, or descent, there is, in no case, anything to contradict that supposition ; and I am inclined to think, that further search (were it worth while) among various confessions, in which these eight persons may be incidentally named, might remove the uncertainty which exists respecting them.

Indeed the probability that they were all, even without this slight exception, Burgundians, is encreased by another fact which is curious. The persons mentioned in the book, are arranged in the index, neither alphabetically, nor chronologically ; but according to the places in which they were residing at the time of their apprehension. The number of persons in the index is 619,<sup>4</sup> and the number of places is 132. Some of these places furnished a considerable number of heretics ; as for instance—Verdunetum, 43—Bornum, 42—*Alzonne*, 32—Thoulouse, 25—Garda, 21—Prunetum, 19—*Maseres*, 18, and so

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<sup>4</sup> The index does not contain the names of the persons mentioned in the 15th Sermo, which, as I have said, does not seem properly to belong to the book. See before, p. 218.



on ; but it is remarkable that, though seventeen places furnished Waldenses, and more than a hundred places furnished Albigenses, yet there is no instance in which the same place furnished a member of *each sect*. Of the places just mentioned those in italics furnished *only* Waldenses, and the others furnished *none* ; and to this there is no exception in all the 132 places.

To this I must add, that although it seems to have been a constant and regular part of the examination of heretics, to make the person confessing, name all the heretics whom he had ever seen, or had any kind of communication with—and although they do this constantly, and minutely describe even the slightest intercourse which they may have incidentally had with any person whom they were afterwards led to suppose was a heretic—yet I find no reason to believe, or the slightest hint which should lead me to suppose, that of this large number of Albigenses and Waldenses, living in the same part of the country, and meeting at the same period in the Inquisition of the same district, any one single individual of the one sect, had heard of the existence of the sect to which the other belonged, or knew the name, or person, of any individual member of it.

## SECTION X.

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### SENTENCES AND CULPE FROM THE BOOK OF SENTENCES.

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I NOW proceed to lay before the reader some of the Sentences, and Culpe, from which many extracts have already been given. My object in translating and printing them is two-fold ; but it is not so much to furnish statements of doctrine, (for that has been so fully done already,) as to give some idea of the book itself, and enable the reader to judge of its contents. For this reason, I shall give them entire ; and it will be obvious which of them are given as elucidating the doctrine of the sects, and which are only offered as characteristic specimens of the books. The reader will already have seen the name of Peter Auterius so often, and he was in fact so eminent a person in the Albigensian sect, that it is natural to assign the first place to his sentence ; as to the others, he will be at no loss to discover to which sect the parties confessing belonged.

*No. I. Sentence on Peter Auterius, 92.*

"In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen. We, Brother Bernard Guido, and Brother Geoffry de Ablusiis, of the Dominican order, Inquisitors of heretical pravity in the kingdom of France, deputed by the Apostolic See, and Stephanus de Portu, Canon of Bazas, Official of St. Gaudens, and Arnaldus de Villario, Vicars deputed by the Reverend Father in Christ the Lord Galhardus, by the grace of God bishop of Thoulouse, in the city and diocese of Thoulouse.

"Since by enquiry it most evidently and lawfully appears to us, as well by many witnesses examined by us upon oath, as by your confession (or rather your wicked and profane profession) that you Peter Auterius, formerly a notary, and an inhabitant of Axs in Savartesium, in the diocese of Pamiers, who have been taken, and arrested, in the diocese of Thoulouse, in which for many years you have been guilty of heresy, by hereticating many persons now deceased, and by otherwise infecting many persons, and drawing them to your errors, by corrupting the Catholic faith with your false doctrines—that you, I say, Peter Auterius, as a notorious heretic, for many years past have held and kept, and now hold, and profess yourself to hold, the way of life, sect, rites and faith (or rather perfidy) of those men who assert that they alone are good christians whom the most Holy Roman Church persecutes, and condemns, and calls *perfecti*, or *consolati* (more properly *desolati*) heretics—you who maintain, assert, and confess two Gods and Lords—that is to say a benevolent, and a malignant being; affirming that the creation of all visible and material things, was not the work of God, the Heavenly Father and the Lord Jesus Christ, but of the Devil, and Satan, the evil deity whom you call the God of this world (*seculi*) the Creator and Prince of this world (*mundi*).

“ You also make two Churches ; one benign, and which you say your sect is, and the Church of Jesus Christ ; and that it has the faith in which every one, and without which no one, is saved—the other malignant, being the Roman Church, which you impudently call the mother of fornications, the Church of the Devil, the Synagogue of Satan, which is in fact the mother, and mistress, of all the faithful ; all whose degrees, and orders, and its laws, and statutes, you malign by your impertinent falsehoods ; and on the other hand, you call all those who hold its faith, heretics, and misled persons, and wickedly, and impiously, teach, that none can be saved in the faith of the Roman Church.

“ Moreover, with your wicked mouth, you particularly and in detail, assert horribly and impiously, that all the Sacraments of the Romish Church of Jesus Christ our Lord—namely, the Eucharist, in which is the true and life-giving body of Christ ; baptism which takes place in material water ; confirmation ; orders ; and extreme unction ; are null and void.

“ The sacrament of matrimony you also condemn, and say that it is always sinful ; that it cannot exist without sin, and you altogether deny that it was instituted by a good God.

“ The Incarnation also of our Lord Jesus Christ, of Mary ever Virgin, although you may nominally profess it in outward appearance, you do, as to the truth of the thing, blaspheme with impious lips, when you deny that he assumed a true human body, and true flesh of man of our nature ; and assert, and falsely state, that he did not truly, but only in appearance, arise therein, and perform the other works of our salvation ; and did not therewith ascend to the right hand of the Father, and that the holy Mary, mother of God, and our Lord Jesus Christ, is not and was not a real woman ; but dogmatizing in the dark,



you falsely pretend, through the impiety and vanity of your mind, that your Church, and that of your sect is meant; which you say is true penitence, and that this is the Virgin Mary.

“ You impudently assert, that the confession of sins, which is made to the priests of the Roman Church, is of no avail; and that neither the Pope, nor any one else of the Roman Church, can absolve any one from sins; but you declare and assert, that you and your followers like yourself, have power to absolve from all sins, those who enter into, and maintain, your sect, by the imposition of hands.

“ The resurrection of human bodies also you entirely deny; fancying some spiritual bodies, some inward man, in which bodies you, and your associates, will not rise though you may assert it, nor will you have a part in the resurrection of the saints with the just, with whom the impious shall not rise in the judgment to glory, but to punishment.

“ These and other errors and horrors, as abominable as they are wicked, you Peter Auterius heretically profess, as we have heard with horror from your own mouth; and many other persons have oftentimes heard from you the aforesaid errors; nor are you willing to depart from those errors, nor to abandon them, nor to believe with your heart, and confess with your mouth, the faith of the Roman Church; but rather basely deny it, although by us, and by many other good men, both ecclesiastical and secular, you have been often admonished, and required, to abandon your errors, and to acknowledge, and hold, the true faith of the Roman Church.

“ Therefore, since you Peter Auterius are not willing to be converted from the errors of heresy, and to return to the true catholic faith of the holy Romish Church of our Lord Jesus Christ, having been often required, and invited, and long waited for, but you persevere in your

perfidy and error with a hardened mind—we the aforesaid Inquisitors, and Vicars, having first diligently taken counsel of several wise men, lest like a sickly sheep you should farther infect the healthy sheep of our Lord's flock, having God before our eyes and the purity of the orthodox faith, the holy gospels being placed before us, that our judgment may go forth from the face of God, and that our eyes may see equity—sitting as a tribunal, by our definitive sentence in these presents contained, do declare and pronounce you, the aforesaid Peter Auterius now present, and refusing to be converted to the faith (this day and place having been peremptorily assigned you for hearing the definitive sentence) to be a heretic; and, as a heretic, we leave you to the secular court; saving, and reserving, to you, that if you choose to be converted, and to return to ecclesiastical unity, your life shall be spared; in which case we reserve to ourselves full and free power of imposing upon you punishment, and penance, for your heretical proceedings.

“This sentence was delivered at the *Sermo* of the Inquisitor, publicly held in the Church of St. Stephen at Thoulouse, on the Thursday before Palm Sunday; namely, the ninth of April in the year of our Lord 1310, in the presence,” &c.

Then follow a list of various persons, ecclesiastical and secular, and the attestations of the notaries. I have already said that he was a principal leader of the sect; and, indeed, he seems to have been the most active and influential person in it. *Guilielmus*, 220, who had confessed and received absolution on the 21st Sept. 1305, in a subsequent confession, made the 5th Dec. 1309, states that, during the interval, Peter Auterius had been at his house, “and remained there a day and a night, and that he did not apprehend him, or cause him to be apprehended, and promised that no mischance should come to him by his means—yet he said that it displeased him that the heretic had come there, and that he admonished him that he should leave the sect of the heretics—but the heretic replied to him that he would by no means leave it, though all his friends should be flayed alive before his face.” To say the truth, I am afraid that Peter Auterius cared more for himself

than for his friends ; and though they seem in innumerable instances to have received and secreted him, and I do not find that any of them ever betrayed him, yet there is good evidence that, after his apprehension, he betrayed them. This appears from the following memoranda of the Inquisitor, appended to various culpæ : *Petrus*, 72, "Predictus P. adhuc habetur suspectus quod celet aliqua de facto heresis propter illa que contra eum inveniuntur per Petrum Auterii revelata."—*Arnalda*, 73, "Contra istam Arnaldam habetur per Petrum Auterii quod vidit et recepit eum in domo sua et viri in quadam infirmitate dicti viri, et venerat ad hereticandum ipsum."—*Raymundus* 73, "Predictus Raymundus adhuc creditur celare aliqua de hospicio suo prout Petrus Auterii dixit et scripsit."—*Arnaldus*, 74, and *Bermunda*, 74, have similar notes.—*Raymundus*, 155, "Predictus Raymundus negat se fecisse adorationem et convenienciam heretico, set Peter Auterius dixit quod fecit sibi pactum seu convenienciam."—*Bernardus*, 132, "Predictus Bernardus negat adorationem et convenienciam seu pactum et credenciam hereticorum, et reputatur male confessus quia Petrus Auterii et Jacobus filius ejus dixerunt, et scripserunt, quod dictus Bernardus et alii fratres sui fecerunt eis pactum, et audiverunt predicationem ipsorum et adoraverunt eos," &c.—*Arnaldus*, 174, "Contra predictum Arnaldum dicit P. Auterius quod ipse Arnaldus dedit sibi pecuniam pro elemosina, et illud supertunicale de blauo quod ipse Petrus Auterii portabat quando fuit captus et condemnatus." Whether Peter Auterius thought to save his life by thus betraying those who befriended him, I do not know ; but if so, he seems to have failed. This sentence was passed, as we have seen, on the 9th of April, 1310, and it will be observed that he was offered the alternative of reconciliation, which was not generally, I think, allowed to those who were delivered to the secular arm. On the 11th of Jan. 1311, however, *Guilielmus*, 146, confessed certain heretical offences, committed within half a year past, and stated that when he committed them he had heard of the burning of Peter Auterius, not long before—"quamvis audivisset dici communiter, quod Tolosa, fuerat combustus, non erat diu Petrus Auterii hereticus."

*No. II. Culpa—Condors, 59.*

"CONDORS, daughter of Johannes de Podio Lobri, wife of Espanhol Faber, living at Vaquiers in the diocese of Thoulouse, (as by her confession lawfully and judicially [that is, not in the way of confession to a priest] made to



us, appears) was induced to join the heretics by her husband, and by Guilielma her sister; and in the house of the Spaniards, her husband's brothers, she saw, and heard two heretics, of whom one was called Amelius, and the name of the other she did not then know, but afterwards heard, and knew, that he was called Peter Auterius. Also, in a house where she and her husband lodged in Vaquiers, she saw two heretics, of whom one was called Peter Raymond, and the name of the other she did not know, but he was a young man with red hair. Also, at another time, in the same house, she saw Peter Sancius the heretic, who stayed there one day and two nights; and she knew that he was a heretic, and she served him with bread and wine and pottage, and made his bed. Also, she and her husband by their words inclined, and induced, Dominica her mother to wish to be received into the sect, and order, of heretics in that sickness of which she died; and Peter Auterius the heretic was brought to the said sick person, and hereticated her, she herself being present, and seeing, and hearing, and assisting, and consenting; and she waited on the said hereticated sick person according to the manner which the said heretics told to her, Condors—namely, that she should not give her any food with fat, or any thing but water to drink [non daret sibi aliquem cibum cum pinguedine nisi aquam ad bibendum]. Also, after the said heretication, she persuaded her said sick mother to be again reconciled to the sect of the heretics, because she had sinned against it by eating after the said heretication, contrary to the ordinance of the said heretic. Also, after the heretication of the said sick person, she would not at the request of the said sick person, go for a Priest, to whom she said she wished to confess concerning the things aforesaid. Moreover, she forbade her by any means to confess concerning this matter; because, if she did, she would be burnt by the Inquisitors. And this last, namely, concerning the heretication



of her mother, she concealed knowingly against her own oath, in her first confession. Also, she heard from a certain person, a believer in the heretics, their doctrine and faith, contrary to the Catholic faith, and the sacraments of the Church of Rome. Also, she believed the heretics to be good men, and true; and to have a good faith in which they might be saved; and was in that belief two years, until she heard that the believers in the heretics were taken, and harassed by the Inquisitors. Committing the things aforesaid, at periods of five, four, three, two, years, and within one year before making her confession of the aforesaid; nor would she confess the things aforesaid till she was detained in prison."

This culpa was recited at the third Sermo, 5th of April, 1310; and Condors was then sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. Indeed, I believe this was in all cases the form of the sentence, though the persons imprisoned might be detained ever so short a time—the Inquisitors wisely considering, that they could let them out when they pleased, and that therefore it was unnecessary to specify any period. She remained in confinement (the *murum largum*, however) till the eighth Sermon, 30th of Sept. 1319; when she was set at liberty, on condition of her wearing the crosses, and making peregrinations to the churches of Toulouse (*educta de muro cum crucibus*) as were many others, of whom the notary says, somewhat quaintly (but certainly without intending to be pleasant, for it was the usual phrase), that they had been "*dudum nomine penitencie inmurati et inmurati*." Her crosses were afterwards taken off at the fourteenth Sermon, 12th Sept. 1322. She was probably treated with the more rigour from her belonging to a family who seem to have been very obnoxious to the Inquisition. Her husband, *Hyspanus*, 29, was in prison at the time when she was sentenced, having been committed, with three of his brothers, at the second Sermon, 25th May, 1309; and one of them, *Guilielmus*, 28, having relapsed, was burned at the time when she was sent to prison. Her husband escaped from prison soon after 24th April, 1310, and at the same time that she was released, he was, being still fugitive, declared a heretic. Beside this, it appears that *Aycelina*, 163, the mother of these four brothers, (and of a fifth, *Johannes*, 260, afterwards condemned as fugitive) had been hereticated by Peter Auterius; and her bones, with those of *Dominica* (the mother of Condors), were ordered to be burned at the fourth

Sermon, 23rd April, 1312. At the same time, the house in which these brothers lived, and in which another woman beside their mother had been hereticated, was ordered to be destroyed. p. 168. It is there called "*domus et campmarium*;" and this latter term (which may perhaps be best translated by what may be almost called its derivative, "capital messuage") seems to indicate the respectability of this Spanish family; and it appears from various confessions to have been a place much resorted to by the heretics.

*No. III. Culpa—Guilielmus, 13.*

"**GUILIELMUS FALQUETUS** of Verdunetum, as appears to us by his own confession, lawfully and judicially made, saw the heretics frequently, and in many places, and adored them, bending his knees thrice, with joined hands, bowing himself profoundly before them, and saying thrice, "*benedicite*," according to the mode, and rite, of the heretics; and saw the heretics adored in like manner by other persons; and this he did so many times, and in so many places, that he cannot remember the number. Also, he heard the words, and admonitions, and preaching, and noxious doctrine, of the heretics; and their errors contrary to the orthodox faith of the Romish Church, and against the Sacraments of the Church; and this many times, and in many places. Also, he ate of the bread blessed by the heretics frequently; and saw the mode of blessing the said bread. Also, he made the agreement with the heretics which they call *la convenensa*, that he would be received by them at his death, according to their most evil custom. Also, he wished, and sought, to be received by the heretics into their sect, and order; and it was not his fault that he was not then received. Also, he went with some other persons into Lombardy, to Como, to seek for the heretics, and found, and saw them, and heard their preaching, and brought back from thence a letter for other heretics of this country, and the salutations of the heretics. Also, a second time, he returned to the heretics, to Como, in Lom-

bardy; and carried them salutations, and news of other heretics, and their believers. Also, a third time, being sent by the heretics, he went into Lombardy to the heretics, at Como and Quercum, and carried them letters of the heretics, and brought back letters in answer, and mutual salutations. Also, a fourth time, being sent by the heretics, he went into Lombardy, and as far as Sicily; and from thence conducted two heretics, namely, Poncius Bavius of Axs, and Poncius de Narica of Avignon, to the heretical Major (ad majorem hereticum) who was in Sicily, where he left the said heretics, and where he saw heretics male and female [*hereticos et hereticas*—which should be I presume *hereticas*,] and believers of heretics, and fugitives for heresy. Also, he frequently commended the life, and sect, and doctrine, of the heretics, to many persons; and inclined, and induced, and attracted, by his words, many persons to the love and belief of the heretics, as much as he could, and knew how. Also, he frequently accompanied the heretics from place to place. Also, he believed the heretics to be good men, and to have a good life, and sect, and order, and good doctrine, and a good faith, and that a man might be saved in their doctrine and faith. Also, he fled on account of heresy, and was in flight with others who had fled for the same reason, for two years, or thereabouts; and, while thus fugitive, he frequently saw, and visited, Philip the heretic, who was a fugitive, and concealed [him] and other believers of the heretics. Also, while fugitive, and persevering in heresy, and taking measures to procure that a heretic should come to hereticate a certain sick person, he was taken, and detained. Also, in his confession, he at first knowingly concealed and suppressed many things relating to heresy, as well concerning himself, as other persons, contrary to his own oath; which he afterwards judicially acknowledged. Also, he saw altogether, in this country, in Lombardy, and



in Sicily, the following heretics male and female—namely, Peter Auterius, William Auterius, James Auterius, and Poncius Bavius of Axs; also Amelius de Perlis, and Andrew de Pradis, in Savartesium, in the diocese of Pamiers; also, Peter Raymund of St. Papoul, Bernard Audoyneus of Montacute, Poncius de Narica, Matthew grandson of the said Bernard Audoyneus of the diocese of Thoulouse; also, Philip of Constantianum, in the diocese of Narbonne; also, Raimund Ysarnus *Diaconus Major*, and Raimund Magister, and William Salas, in Sicily; also two perfect female heretics in Sicily; and Audara Borrola, who caused herself to be called Jacoba, a perfect heretic (*heretica perfecta*) of Limoux, with whom he went the first time into Lombardy to the heretics, before she was a consoled heretic (*heretica consolata*). He is convicted, moreover, of seeing heretics, and of adoring, accompanying and visiting, them, and of the journies which he made into Lombardy, for the heretics, by many concurring witnesses."

For these offences, which it appears that he confessed on 30th Nov. 1307, he was sentenced on the 25th of May, 1309, to close confinement (*murum strictum*). This, to a person who had evidently such a taste for locomotion, must have been highly disagreeable; and so I suppose he found it; for it appears, that in less than a twelvemonth (24th April, 1310) he broke out of prison; and the most urgent and persevering invitations, could not persuade him to return. Soon after his escape he was publicly excommunicated in the church of Verdunum. He was then repeatedly cited, both at his customary dwelling, and in the church. Having borne this sentence of excommunication more than five years, he was again cited in the year 1315. As he did not appear, he was, on the last day of August, 1316, found, and decreed to be contumacious. Wherefore, afterwards, some time being allowed for his appearance, which he did not make, (*unde postmodum, diudius expectatus*) he was excommunicated as a fugitive for the crime of heresy; and was, thereupon, canonically, and peremptorily, cited to appear at the General Sermo, on whatsoever day it should take place in the year 1319. And not appearing at that Sermo (30th Sept. and the eighth in this book) he was again excommunicated. p. 256.



Farther than this I do not find; and I cannot tell why the Inquisitors gave themselves so much trouble. The next case, *Raimundus*, 14, is very similar as to that point for which I was led to extract the preceding—namely, as shewing the connexion and intercourse between the alleged heretics of Thoulouse, and those of Lombardy. This, indeed, appears from a variety of confessions, beside those which will be given hereafter. This Raimund “ivit in Lombardiam quatuor vicibus, missus “per hereticos ad hereticos, tanquam nuncius eorundem, portans, et “reportans, rumores, et nunciationes mutuas, et literas eorundem. .... “Item, in altera vice, de predictis, portavit cuidam heretico in Lombardiam ex parte aliorum hereticorum, de pecunia ecclesie hereticorum xx<sup>d</sup> marabotinos aureos et vestes.” He was condemned to the same punishment, at the same time, with Guilielmus Falquetus; and they escaped together; but though they took so much pains to recapture the one, I cannot find anything whatever respecting the other, except a brief marginal note on his culpa; “Iste Raimundus de Verduno “aufugit de muro anno Domini M. CCCX. VIII Kalendas Maii, feria “sexta, rupta cathena infra Octabas Pasche;” that is, as far as I can see, the same day that he and several others—Hyspanus, the husband of Condors among them—escaped; and why it is stated in this two-fold form I do not know.

As these confessions mention *Verdun*, and *Avignon*, I should, perhaps, caution some readers not to suppose that they are the places which are most commonly known under those names. Beside the Verdun which is too well known to many of our countrymen, and that on the Saone, there are two towns so called—one on the Garonne, somewhat less than twenty miles below Thoulouse, and the other (a place still inferior) near St. Papoul. The former of these I suppose to be the place from whence Raimund took his name; and the latter (where Guilielmus Falquetus lived) I understand to be designated by *Verdunetum*, in this book, to distinguish it from the former—but of this I do not feel certain—for with respect to the *Avignon* here mentioned, (which was a town on the Garonne, about as much above Thoulouse as Verdun was below it,) I find on the same page (100) “de Avinione,” and “de Avinioneto,” where the same place is certainly meant. I must, however, say—and this is a good opportunity—that I feel unable to translate many of the names of places, and of coins, which constantly occur. The former would require a more accurate knowledge of the parts about Thoulouse than I can pretend to, or know where to obtain; and the latter, were I to attempt it, would only lead to disquisitions, not very useful; as I should scarcely hope to be able to settle their value with ten times the

labour which it would be worth while to bestow on such a subject. If the reader wishes to puzzle himself with the different names representing the same value—the various sums designated by the same name at different periods—and the speculations respecting what are now only names—let him read what has been written merely on such names of money as will occur in the course of these extracts, and which I shall give just as they stand. Perhaps Du Cange may supply enough to produce the effect on the single word *moneta*.

*No. IV. Culpa—Guilielma, 22.*

“*GUILLIELMA SENTGELIA* wife of Raymund St. Egidius [or St. Giles—corrupted, as appears by his wife’s name, into *Sentgelius*] as appears to us by her own confession, lawfully and judicially, made, saw and received in her house, Peter, and James his son, heretics; and knew them to be such; and the said Peter the heretic then told her, that he had seen Arnald Magister her brother, in the city of Genoa; and the said two heretics supped, and slept, that night in her house; and, the following morning, she gave Peter the heretic ten *albus*’ of Tours, asking him, if he should see her aforesaid brother, to give him a part of them. Also, another time afterwards, she saw the aforesaid James the heretic, in her house, with a certain man, whom she joyfully received, and asked them after the other heretic, where he then was? Also, she delivered to a certain person, money to the amount of eighteen *albus*’ of Tours, that he might deliver it to Bernard Audoyne, to whom she owed it when he left the Country; and she believes that he left for heresy. Also, a certain person came to her on the part of the said Bernard Audoyne asking for more than she had paid; and told her that he was a heretic, or one of the heretics whom they called *good men*: and that he was then in Thoulouse. Also a certain person praised, and commended, to her the heretics, that they were good men, and kept the way of God, as friends of God, and Apostles. Also, when she heard that the aforesaid James



the heretic, who had been in her house, was taken at Carcassone, she was very much frightened. Also, she believed the heretics to be good men, and true, and that one might be saved in their faith; and was in that belief from the time when she first saw the aforesaid two heretics in her house, up to the day when she was taken and brought to Thoulouse, and that may be four years."

*No. V. Culpa—Lombarda, 189.*

"LOMBARDA, wife of Arnaldus Letgerius of the parish of St. Martin in Prunetum, as legally appears to us by her own confession, judicially made the 16th of May, A. D. 1314, saw in the house of Sibilia of Prunetum, in a corner of the house, two or three men whom she did not know; of whom, afterwards, when she heard that the aforesaid Sibilia, and certain other women who were there, were cited and punished for heresy, she suspected that those aforesaid men were heretics. Also, in a certain illness which she had, of which she recovered, the said Sibilia told her that in case she should die of that illness, if she wished to have a good man (*probum hominem*) she would bring her one, who would be to her a physician of soul, and body; and then she understood that she said this with reference to a heretic; and told the said Sibilia, that if the husband of her the said Lombarda were to know of such a thing, he would suffocate her; and she would not consent to it. The aforesaid things she saw and heard eight years before she made a confession respecting them, nor did she come to confess until she was accused, cited, and arrested, and when under examination she at first denied the truth."

Excused the crosses; but sentenced to make peregrinations to certain churches in and out of Thoulouse, which were to be specified in her letter of penance. No farther mention in the book that I know of; but the index-maker observes, after her name, "*complevit ad arbitrium Inquisitoris.*"

*No. VI. Culpe and Sentences relating to the case of Guilielma, 33, already mentioned p. 250, 252.*

*Culpa—Alasaytz, 70.*

“ALASAYTZ, the wife of Martin de Proaudo de Posanila of Thoulouse, who was born at Assum (as appears by her own confession lawfully and judicially made before us) heard from Martin de Proaudo her husband, whom she had married after the death of his first wife Guilielma, that the said Guilielma had induced him to go and see a certain man in the cellar of his house, concerning whom she gave him to understand that that man was a heretic, and that the said Guilielma was privy to the proceedings of the heretics. Also, she heard say, that Esclarmunda, who had waited on the same Guilielma in the sickness of which she died, was of the sect of the heretics.

“Also, the said Guilielma de Proaudo in her lifetime commended to her Alasaytz herself, the life, and sect, of the heretics, often, and in many places; and asked her to be kind to them, and to believe in, and befriend them; and she agreed, and several times asked the said Guilielma to point out heretics to her. Also, she frequently sent to the heretics by the said Guilielma, of the fruit which she had to sell. Also she sent to the said heretics by the said Guilielma two cakes and two loaves of fine bread [panes mofletos—*fr.* moufflets]. Also, the said Alasaytz induced William de Bosco her [late] husband, in the sickness of which he died, to consent to be hereticated; and afterwards went to the aforesaid Guilielma, and urgently asked her to procure, and have ready, some heretic who might receive the said sick man; and she agreed that she would do so; and then Alasaytz herself managed that those persons who were in her house, and who were not parties to the heretical proceedings, should be absent; and she herself, under



pretence of going to the Gilded Church, to pray for the sick man, took those persons with her; that, while they were absent, the sick man might be conveniently received by the heretic; and she afterwards heard from the said Guilielma, that she had taken the heretic to the sick man, but the sick man would not consent. Also, the aforesaid Guilielma informed her, that she was much afraid of being taken by the Inquisitors, because she believed they would know what she had done.

“Also, she saw, and knew, that the said Guilielma placed herself in *Endura*, that she might die in it; and bathed herself, and in the said bath caused herself to be bled. And she, the said Alasaytz, brought the barber-surgeon to her, and after the departure of the barber-surgeon, the said Guilielma untied her arm in the bath, that the blood might flow out, and so she might be weakened, and the sooner die, because she feared being taken by the Inquisitors; and she knew, and heard, that the said Guilielma, after the bathing, and bleeding, placed herself upon the cold ground. Also, she twice asked the said Alasaytz to buy her some poison, that she might hasten her death thereby; but she did not buy it for her: and then the said Guilielma declared and revealed to the said Alasaytz, that she was received to the sect, and order, of the heretics, and *vestita* by the said Peter the heretic, who had received her, and directed that Esclarmunda should wait upon her, and keep her in *Endura*; and for this purpose she had sent for her from Rabastens; and she saw the said Esclarmunda waiting upon the said Guilielma. And then, upon a certain day, she saw a certain potion, which the said Esclarmunda was holding in a certain cup, in which there was broken glass which she wished to give to Guilielma that she might die.

“Also, a certain woman told her from the said Esclarmunda, that she must buy a cobbler’s awl, to kill the

said Guilielma, who desired it; but she would not buy it; but that woman bought it; and shewed it to her; and then she, and that woman who had bought the awl, went to the said Guilielma, who in their presence, and hearing, asked the said Esclarmunda to pierce her, with the said awl, in her side, in that part where the heart was; and there was a discussion among them where the heart lay, and they were of opinion that it must be on the left side; but they did not then do what they had intended. She also saw that the said Esclarmunda gave the said Guilielma to drink in a certain cup, in which she had put something black, and she believes it was some poison, because she had before said that she had some. And the following day the said Guilielma died. And she heard, from a certain girl whom she names, that the said Guilielma was placed in a bath that night, and the said Esclarmunda gave her the juice of wild cucumbers.

“Also, the said Guilielma, before she died, asked her, after her death, to marry the said Martinus de Proaudo; her husband, which also she did. Also, she had before heard from the said Guilielma, that she and another Guilielma de Proaudo, and Philippa were receiving heretics. And she named to her, in particular, the said Peter, and James his son, whom she much commended; and concerning whom she was much grieved that he was taken. Also the said Alasaytz once sent twelve *denarii regales* that they might be given to the heretics for her. Also, at another time, she sent an *albus* of Tours to a certain person, to give, and deliver, to the heretics. Also she believed the heretics to be good men; and to have a good life, and sect, and faith, in which a man might be saved; and she was in that belief from the time when she began to consent to the words of the said Guilielma, respecting the heretics, until she was cited before the Inquisitor for the first time, on the 13th of August, 1307. And then she concealed



the truth concerning the matters aforesaid, against her own oath taken before the Inquisitors, being frequently enquired of, although she was then detained, yet afterwards being liberated, and hearing that the Inquisitor was to make a Sermon, she fled, and remained in flight some months, and was at length taken and detained in gaol, because she had been previously accused by other persons who were accomplices; nor would she confess the matters aforesaid until she was the second time arrested; and heard that those persons who were accomplices had confessed. Committing the aforesaid things from five years, to within four years, previous to the last confession concerning the matters aforesaid."

Sentenced "ad murum largum," 5th April, 1310, and I believe nothing more is said of her.

*Culpa—Serdana, or Esclarmunda, 76.*

"SERDANA, who caused herself to be otherwise called Esclarmunda, daughter of the late William Faber of Verdunetum, near Saxacum (as appears by her confession lawfully and judicially made before us) went into Lombardy with Serdana her aunt, and Bertrandus Egilbaudus her uncle, to the heretics. And in Como she frequently saw Bernardus Andoynus of Montacute, and Peter Raymond of St. Papoul, heretics; and heard their words, and preaching, and adored them, bowing three times before them, with bended knees and joined hands, and saying each time, 'Benedicite,' asking their blessing. And she knew that Serdana, her aforesaid aunt, was there hereticated, when at the point of death, by Peter Raymond, of St. Papoul; and she was present at the said heretication. Also she heard, and knew, that the aforesaid Bertrand, her uncle, and William son of Peter Auterius, were hereticated just before their death; but she was not present when they were hereticated. And also in Como many

times and with many persons whom she names (fugitives for heresy, and believers in the heretics) she spoke of the heresy as a believer. Also, she departed from Como with William Faber her father, wishing to go into Sicily to the heretics; but she could not get there. Also, in Genoa, where she remained some years, she knew some believers of the heretics, and saw their messengers. Also, she departed from Genoa, and came to this country, with Philip of Talayraco of Constancianum the heretic, and with Auda Borella of Limoux, a heretic, who caused herself to be called *Jacoba*, and some other believers; and many times adored both the male, and the female heretics, in the manner aforesaid; and many times ate of bread that had been blessed by a heretic. At Thoulouse she lived in the same house with them, serving, and adoring them; and there also saw and adored other heretics—namely, Peter Auterius, and James his son, Bernard Audoynus, and Peter Raymond of St. Papoul, and saw that they were visited, and adored, by other persons who were believers in them. Also, she waited upon the said heretic in the illness of which she died, and was present at her burial, and knew that the said heretic hastened her death.

“Also, at Thoulouse, she frequently saw heretics, and adored them, and knew that Guilielma Martina de Proaudo put herself in *endura*, and was hereticated; and she waited upon her as a heretic, and saw the heretic Bernard Audoynus before the said Guilielma in bed, who had come to reconcile her after the manner of the heretics; and knew that the said Guilielma urgently besought her, and some other persons, whom she names, that her death might be hastened, fearing to be taken by the Inquisitors for heresy. And the said Serdana gave the said Guilielma to drink, a deadly potion of the juice of wild cucumbers, with broken glass; and saw an iron instrument, which is called *alzena*, which the said Guilielma had caused to be



bought, that she might therewith be suddenly pierced in the side, if the messengers of the Inquisitors should come.

"Also, she frequently heard the discourses of the heretics against the faith, and sacraments, of the Romish Church of our Lord Jesus Christ; and commended the life, and sect, and faith, of the heretics to other persons, and ate of the consecrated bread of the heretics, so often that she does not know the number of times.

"Also, she believed the heretics to be good men, and true; and to have a good faith in which a man might be saved; and had been in that belief eleven, or twelve, years.

"Also, the aforesaid Serdana concealed in her first confession, contrary to her own oath, many things concerning the matter of heresy, which she had lately learnt; which if she had then revealed the heretics might have been easily taken.

"Also, the said Serdana, being in flight, for the matter of heresy, in which she had continued many years, was apprehended with Peter Bernerius her husband, who was a great believer, and leader, of heretics, and a fugitive for heresy, and had fled from the prisons of the Inquisitors twice."

Sentenced "ad murum strictum" 5th of April, 1310. Her husband, here mentioned, had been delivered to the secular arm, as a relapsed heretic, at the preceding Sermo, 25th of May, 1309.

*Culpa—Alazayt, 114.*

"ALAZAYT, wife of the late Arnaldus Auriolus of Assum, (as legally appears to us by her own confession judicially made, 15th of June, 1309) in the sickness of William de Bosco, her son in law, of which he died at Thoulouse, she visited him; and, on a certain day, Alazayt her daughter, wife of the said William, told her, that there would come to the said sick person, a gentleman with a certain lady; and then she suspected that her daughter meant to say this of some heretic, and asked her if she

meant to say this of an heretic. And her said daughter subjoined that she should hold her tongue. And then she remonstrated with her, and forbad her to do it. And her said daughter, on the contrary said "Yes it shall be done." And then she went away from the house, and after a while returned. And when she was in the house of the said sick person, there came in after a certain woman, who she afterwards heard was named Guilielma de Proando, wife of Martin de Proando, and a certain man with her, and asked, how the said sick person did. And the said Guilielma, and that man, went into the chamber where the sick man lay. And the said Alazayt remained without; and after a while, the said Guilielma, and that man, went out, and went away. And the said man said, as he was going away, to John, son of the said Alazayt, that if any one should ask, who that man was who had been there, he should answer that he was a Physician.

"Having seen, and heard these things, the said Alazayt more strongly, and fully, than before, suspected and believed, that that man was a heretic, because of the words she had heard, and understood, from her said daughter, and because that man did nothing to the sick person in the way of a Physician. And she believes that her said daughter had procured that man to come to the sick person, to do that which the heretics do to the sick.

"The matters aforesaid had happened about four years before the time when she made a judicial confession of the things aforesaid; nor did she come to make known the things aforesaid until her daughter was taken, and made a confession of the things aforesaid, and the said Alazayt was cited, and named, and detained in prison, and at first denied the truth contrary to her own oath."

Sentenced 23rd of April, 1312, to wear double crosses, and make peregrinations and visitations to the churches of Thoulouse, and perform such other acts as should be specified in her letters of penance.



*Sentence on Guilielma, 33, deceased in heresy.*

“ Also, since by legal inquisition thereupon made we have found, and by witnesses legally sworn in Court, it appears to us, that Guilielma, wife of the late Martin de Proauto of Thoulouse, now deceased, in her lifetime, visited, and saw frequently, heretics in divers places and also at her own house, often received them, and heard their words, and admonitions, and preaching, and pestilential doctrine, against the faith and sacraments of the Church of our Lord Jesus Christ, adored them with bended knees, and joined hands, bowing down profoundly before them, saying their accursed ‘ Benedicite ’—sent them gifts, presents, and changes of raiment, inclined other persons to the friendship, and belief, of them, and by praising, approving, teaching, and commending, their life, sect, and faith, to other persons.

“ Also, that in her last illness, being of sound mind, she was received into the damnable sect of heresy by the heretics, asking, and receiving from them, the consolation (or more properly desolation) by the imposition of hands—and left them a legacy and paid it them herself—and being thus received by the heretics, keeping the rite delivered to her, and their sect, and persisting many days in that abstinence which they call *endura*, she caused herself to be adored as a heretic after their damnable manner, and hastened her bodily death by bleeding, and frequent bathing, and at length by taking greedily a deadly draught of the juice of wild cucumbers, in which broken glass had been put, to tear her bowels, which she had desired in order that she might be more quickly destroyed, she hastened to eternal death while she damnably died in the error and horror of heresy.”

The sentence, which includes a number of persons, directs that, if their bones can be distinguished from those of the faithful, they shall

be disinterred, and burned. The falsehood of Peter Auterius has been already noticed, p. 226; and the reader is requested to compare what is said about physicians, p. 194, 210. The only facts stated by the Inquisitor which do not appear in the confessions, are, that she caused herself to be heretically adored, and that she left a legacy to the heretics, and paid it herself. How he learned this I do not know; but the first seems only consistent with the rest of the story, and I shall have occasion to shew that the latter is not an improbable circumstance. I find nothing else referring to this business, except that *Vesiada*, 94, confesses, among her various offences, that she was concerned in procuring the wild cucumbers—"Item ipsa portavit cucumeres silvestres cuidam persone, ad dandum cuidam infirme, scilicet Guilielme uxori Martini de Proaudo ut citius moreretur; de qua Raymunda Graneta, que sibi tradidit cucumeres, dixit sibi quod erat tunc recepta per hereticos, et posu-  
"erat se in endura."

No. VII. *Culpa—Guilielmus*, 61.

"GUILIELMUS MERCADERIUS, Notary of Garda Viridi Folesii (as appears by his confession legally and judicially made to us) heard Peter Sancius commending to him the life, and sect, of the heretics, inducing him to believe, and adhere to the heretics; and afterwards, on one occasion, saw in his house James, and William Peter of Limoux, and another person whose name he did not know. He then knew that the said James was a heretic, spoke with him, and heard his words from the epistles, and gospels. Also, in the house of Baranhone of St. Sulpice, he saw Peter Auterius, and James Auterius his son, and Amelius, the heretics, and knew them to be such, and there with other persons whom he names, heard the preaching of the said James Auterius. Also, in the house of the said Peter Sancius de Garda, and his brothers, he saw twice, at different times, the aforesaid two heretics, by night, at the fire with some other persons, believers of the heretics whom he names, and each time he heard their preaching, and doctrine; and especially of the said James, whom he saw reading in a book, and heard their errors expressly



against the catholic faith, and the sacraments. Also, when he saluted the heretics he embraced them, and turned his head to each side, saying, 'Benedicite,' as he had been taught by them; and he saw the same thing done by other believers, whom he names. Also, he once adored James Auterius the heretic, with his hands joined, bowing himself, three times, upon a bench before him, and saying each time, 'Benedicite.' Also, on one occasion, with Vitalis Sancius of Garda, he led, and accompanied, by night, James Auterius the heretic, from the house of the said Vitalis, to the house of Stephana wife of the late Ychertus de Sinilh near Garda, who was ill, and desired to have the said heretic, that he might receive her; and, when they were there, he saw the aforesaid sick person, who rose up, and placed herself before the said heretic, with her knees bent, and her hands joined, and with other persons whom he names, adored the heretic, in the heretical manner; and made an agreement, or covenant with him, that she would be received into the sect and order of heretics, when she came to die. And there he, and orders, heard the preaching of the said heretic, who read in a certain book; but the said sick person was not then received, by the said heretic, because she was not ill enough. And from thence he, with the said Vitalis, led back, and accompanied the heretic to the house of the said Vitalis, and that fact he had knowingly concealed in his first confession, contrary to his own oath. And had denied, having been many times questioned before the Inquisitor for about three years. Also, in his first confession, he had knowingly concealed three persons believers in the heretics, whom he had seen with the heretics, whom he names. Also, he made a covenant, or agreement, with James Auterius the heretic, that he would be received into their order at the time of his death on that occasion when he adored him in his house. Committing the aforesaid, from a period of

three years and a half, from two years, and from one year, before he made confession of the things aforesaid, nor did he come to confess till he was cited."

Sentenced to imprisonment, 5th of April, 1310; discharged, 30th of September, 1319, and sentenced to wear the crosses, which were taken off 12th of September, 1322.

*No. VIII. Culpa—Guilielmus, 342.*

"**GUILIELMUS DE BAYSSANIS**, son of Peter de Bayssanis, of Bornum, in the diocese of Montauban (as legally appears by his judicial confession, made 21st of Sept. 1321) eighteen years, or thereabouts, before the time of his confession, on a certain night, while his father, and Petrona his mother, and John his brother, were sitting near the fire, his father asked him, 'If he wished to see the good men?' And he asked 'What sort of men they were?' And his mother gave him a box on the ear. And then his said father, and he, and his brother, went up to a certain loft of his house, and found there two men; of whom afterwards his father told him, that one was called Peter Auterius, and the other Amelius. And they sat with them. And the said Peter Auterius said, 'You are welcome—do not be afraid, for we will do you no harm;' and said some words, which he stated that he did not remember. And after the matters aforesaid, he, and his father, and his brother, came down from the loft, and left them there. The said Guilielmus de Bayssanis was at that time, as he says, of the age of eight or nine years. Also, the third night after the matters aforesaid, while he Guilielmus, and other persons whom he names, were sitting in the aforesaid house near the fire, the aforesaid two, Peter Auterius and Amelius, came down from the loft, and sat with them. And one of them said, 'Maynada, we are good men, and are of those whom people call heretics, but we are not heretics;' and he began to read in a certain book some



words which he said that he did not remember. Also, on the following night, he, and his father, went up to the said loft, and found there the aforesaid two, Peter Auterius and Amelius; and while they were there, two other men, whom he names, came up; and then his father told him to go to bed; and he went, and left them there. Also, on the following night, or another night after, while he and his father, and his mother, and his brother, were sitting in his house, near the fire, the aforesaid two, Peter Auterius, and Amelius, the heretics, came from out of doors, and Guilielmus Mercaderius of Bornum with them; and then, when they were in the house, the said Guilielmus Mercaderius bowed his knees, two or three times, before the said heretics, saying some words which he did not understand, and afterwards went away. The heretics remained there; and then his aforesaid father, and mother, and John his brother, one after the other, adored the said heretics, by bowing their knees three times upon the ground, and putting their hands upon a bench, with their heads uncovered, saying certain words which he did not understand. And after them he Guilielmus adored the aforesaid heretics in the aforesaid heretical manner. Being asked concerning his belief of the heretics, he answered that he was then of the age of eight or nine years; and did not know what to believe about them; and had not faith in their sect, and was led to do what he did by his father, and mother. Being interrogated why he so long deferred coming to confess the matters aforesaid, he answered that when his father was cited by the Inquisitor to come to the Sermon, at which he was imprisoned, he said to him, ‘Son, I do not know whether I shall see you again; but take care that, as long as I and your mother live, you do not tell any body what you have seen, and known, of the proceedings of the heretics.’ And this he said was the cause why he had deferred so long to come and confess the matters aforesaid.”

I give this confession merely for its simplicity ; in which respect it is a specimen of a great many. There can be little doubt that the father and mother are the Petrus de Bayssas, and Petrona, his wife, whose confessions (p. 119, 120) agree with what is here stated, and who were sentenced to imprisonment at the Sermo, 23rd of April, 1312—between nine and ten years before the son's confession. The Guilielmus Mercaderius mentioned, was not the same person whose culpa has just been given : but another of the same name (82) who was delivered to the secular arm, as a relapsed heretic, at the same time that the other was imprisoned.

*No. IX. Culpa—Petrona, 11.*

“ PETRONA, wife of Petrus Sicardus of Villemur, (as appears to us by her confession, legally and judicially made) frequently saw the heretics, in her own house, and elsewhere, and adored them with joined hands, and bended knees, bowing herself profoundly three times, saying, ‘ Benedicite.’ Also, she was present at the heretication of William, the son of Gerald Ysarnus of Villemur, and saw, and heard, and at the end adored, James Auterius the heretic, who hereticated the said William. Also, she twice ate of the consecrated bread of the heretics. Being asked if she believed the heretics to be good men, she answered, that she did not. The heretics whom she saw are these ; James Auterius, Amelius de Perlis, Guilielmus Auterius, and Peter Auterius.”

A marginal note, by the Inquisitor, states that, “because she “had many little children, and because her husband, whom she “feared, made her do it, she was let off without imprisonment.” This was at the second Sermo, the 25th of May, 1309, at which time her husband, under whose influence she is supposed to have acted, was imprisoned. His “culpa” on that occasion is not worth extracting ; but a marginal note states that he had confessed in 1305, “pluries set male Item 1307 pluries,” &c. ; and the culpa itself states that when he was, “captus et detentus,” he made “unam fictam confessionem,” p. 26. He was then sentenced to the milder imprisonment, but, at a subsequent Sermo, the 5th of April, 1310, he was delivered as a relapsed heretic to the secular arm. His *culpa*, as recited on that occasion, will be given next.



As to Petrona, being as we have seen excused from imprisonment, she was ordered to wear the crosses, which were taken off (that is, she was admitted "ad gratiam de crucibus") at the next Sermo but one, 23rd of April, 1312.

*No. X. Culpa—Petrus, 83.*

"PETRUS SICARDUS otherwise called De la Boyssa, living in Villemur, a native of Bornum, (as appears to us, by his confession legally and judicially made, after he had made another confession of the crime of heresy, three years before that time) on the Vigil of St. Michael last past, a certain man whom he did not then know because it was night, asked him if he would take him into his house for the night, and he answered that he would not; and, the next morning, a certain youth, who lived with Sancius Mercaderius, asked him if he had seen Amelius the heretic that night? And he answered, 'Not that he knew of; but a certain man had come, and asked him to take him in;' and the other replied, that he was Amelius the heretic, and was in Villemur, but he did not tell him in what place he was. And he asked and required of him to pay to him, the money which he owed to Vitalis, the brother of that Amelius, who was dead. And he answered, that he had it not ready; but when he had it he would willingly pay it to the said Amelius. Also, after the aforesaid, Arnaldus Sicardus, the brother of the said Peter, many times told him that he did wrong, in not paying that money to the said Amelius the heretic. And once the said Arnaldus told him, that the said Amelius the heretic, remained in the country on that account, and it caused him to labour (*propter hoc stabat in ista terra et faciebat eum laborare*) and afterwards, he told the said Arnaldus that he should receive fifty *albus's* of Tours, from a certain man whom he named to him, and that he would deliver them to the said heretic, which he had before delivered to that man. And the fol-

lowing day the said Arnaldus told him, that Peter Auterius, and Amelius, the heretics, charged him, that what remained of the money, he held at the peril of his soul, because he did not hold it with their consent. And that he should go to them, and should pay them the said money. And he, Arnald, said that he would bring them at night to a place that he might speak to them; and he answered that he did not want to see them. Also, about three years before last Whitsuntide, he visited Petrona his mother, in that illness of which she afterwards died; and then Stephana, the sister of the said Petrona, told him that a certain man whom she named to him might have one of these heretics, who would receive the said sick person into their Order, or would direct how they might have one, and that they were in the house of Raymond Durand. And then he saw him talking with his said mother. And, afterwards, on another day, the said sick person was very weak, and then the said Stephana told Bernard Sicardus, her brother, to go quickly for the said heretics, and he went. And when the said sick person became more weak, the said Stephana told him, Peter Sicardus, to go to the wife of that man of whom she had said that he would direct them to get one of the heretics; and that he should go quickly for this. And he doubts whether he went, or not, to the said Petrona; but, if he went, he found her in the road; and told her the aforesaid words, and thereupon the said Petrona went away. And he believes that she, and the said Bernard, went to the house of Raymond Durand, for one of the heretics to come and receive the said sick person. And after a little while, Peter Auterius, the heretic, came to the house where the sick person lay; and he, Peter Sicardus, was there present, and saluted the said heretic. And then the said sick person had already lost her speech. And he [Peter Auterius] asked if she had previously made the agreement, or covenant; and he,



[Peter Sicardus] and the said Stephana, answered, that they did not know. And then the heretic said he would not receive her, but yet she would be saved in another tunic, and in another body (*set adhuc in alia tunica, et in alio corpore salvaretur*). And, afterwards, the heretic drank there, and went away. And he, Peter Sicardus, went to Arnald Mercator, and told him to accompany the said heretic. He did not apprehend the said heretic, nor cause him to be apprehended, nor tell anybody that might have apprehended him."

No. XI. Sentence—Poncius, 95.

"In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ the Crucified. Amen. Some time since Poncius Arnaldus de Puolibus, of the parish of St. Faith, near Taravellum, in the Diocese of Thoulouse (coming, uncalled for, before us, Brother Bernard Guido, of the Dominican Order, Inquisitor of heretical pravity in the kingdom of France, deputed by the Apostolic See, and being judicially placed before us, and sworn to speak the truth) spontaneously, and of his own free will, confessed and said, that about twenty years before, while he was ill in a sickness from which he afterwards recovered, Peter Arnald, his son, brought to him, Poncius, then sick, two heretics, whom the said Peter called good men, telling him that those heretics would deliver his soul to God (*redderent animam ejus Deo*) and that the same Peter invited him, Poncius, to eat of the consecrated bread of the heretics, which he then shewed him. Moreover, that so far as in him lay, he induced him when thus sick, to the love, and belief, of the heretics; and that the above mentioned Poncius believed, that the aforesaid Peter had in like manner induced Bruna, the daughter of him, Poncius, and sister of the aforesaid Peter, to the belief of the heretics.

“ We, therefore, Brother Bernard, Inquisitor aforesaid, justly presuming that Poncius the Father had not deposed what was false, or with a design to slander his son Peter, caused the said Peter Arnald, son of the said Poncius, to be called before us ; and he, being judicially before us, and sworn to speak the truth, we required him to tell the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, concerning the matters aforesaid. He constantly denying the aforesaid matters, and persisting long and steadily in his denial, from this, and from certain probable conjectures, justly suspecting that the above-mentioned Poncius, maliciously, and calumniously, deposing falsehoods against his own son Peter, was endeavouring to involve him in a crime so nefarious, we caused the said Poncius to be cited and brought to our presence. Poncius the Father, and Peter his son, aforesaid, we caused to be confronted ; and since, after having been sworn to speak the truth, the said Poncius constantly persisted in his affirmative, and the said Peter in his negative, we had the said Poncius detained until we should become, as it was our duty to be, more fully informed respecting the matters aforesaid. And, finding that the said Poncius, at the time mentioned in his deposition, was not lying ill of any sickness, but was in good health ; and that at that time and place the heretics were not active (*quod illis loco et tempore heretici minime discurrebant*) we caused the above-mentioned Poncius to be brought out of prison ; and when he was judicially placed before us, and sworn, we again admonished, and canonically required, him to tell us, whether there was any truth in those things which he had deposed against his aforesaid son Peter ; and then this Poncius, being conscious of his malice, and coming to his right mind, and being judicially placed before us, spontaneously and freely acknowledged, that all, and every thing, which he had confessed, and deposed, against his aforesaid son Peter, was false, and containing no truth,



either in whole, or in part; and that he had deposed such things being moved with hatred against the said Peter his son, as these matters are more fully contained in the processes thereupon had. All which things we caused to be intelligibly recited in the vulgar tongue to the aforesaid Poncius, in the presence of the venerable men Dominus Petrus de Lacu, Official of Thoulouse, and Dominus Barranus de Perhissacho, Vicars of the Reverend Father in Christ and Lord, the Lord G. by the grace of God Bishop of Thoulouse, and of us, and of Brother Geoffry de Ablusiis, our Co-inquisitor; and Poncius (by virtue of the oath which he had then and previously taken) spontaneously, freely, and without force, acknowledged and affirmed, that all and singular the matters aforesaid, were true; humbly praying that a salutary penance might be enjoined him on account of the matters aforesaid.

“ We, therefore, Inquisitors and Vicars, above mentioned, having considered the premises, and other circumstances by which the decision of our mind, and of every person giving judgment, could be rightly informed—being convinced that the aforesaid Poncius Arnaldus, as far as in him lay, would have deceived our Court, destroyed that truth which is the only object to be sought after in matters of faith, and corrupted the sincerity of the office of the Inquisition which we hold, to the prejudice of the Catholic faith, and the scandal of an innocent son, whom he maliciously and falsely endeavoured to involve in so detestable a crime, by knowingly bearing false witness, when judicially placed before us, contrary to his own oath, as has now been recited and read to him intelligibly in the vulgar tongue—that the punishment of this Poncius may afford an example to others, and deter them from the like proceedings—this day and place being peremptorily assigned to the said Poncius for the hearing our definitive sentence—sitting as a tribunal, the Holy Gospels being

placed before us, that our judgment may go forth from the face of God, and that our eyes may see equity—having taken counsel with persons both regular, and secular, learned in either law—by virtue of the authority which we exercise, do by these presents sentence, and condemn, the said Poncius Arnaldus, false witness or accuser, to perpetual imprisonment, therein to do salutary penance, with the bread of affliction, and the water of affliction, leaving him out of pity only his life. And moreover, that the aforesaid false witness shall publicly stand with his hands bound, raised up on a ladder in an elevated place before the door of this Cathedral Church of St. Stephen to day, and to-morrow from early in the morning until nine o'clock, with his head bare, in his tunic without a girdle, with two red tongues, a palm and a half long, and three fingers broad, on his breast, and two hanging between his shoulders; so that he may be seen, and recognised, by the by-standers; and that in the same manner he shall be placed, and stand, before the doors of the Church of St. Saturninus on the following Sunday; and the Sunday after before the door of the Gilded Church<sup>1</sup>—canonically admonishing the same Poncius, and enjoining and commanding him by the oath which he has taken, that he shall constantly wear the said tongues on every upper garment; and shall not go about, either in or out of doors or of prison, without having them prominent and apparent; and shall repair them if they are torn, and renew them if, and so often as, they shall be worn out; and that immediately on

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<sup>1</sup> “*Ecclesie deaurate.*” I have called this, “the gilded church,” because Chandler has done so in translating this place where it is quoted by Limborch. I have done the same at the top of page 285; though, I imagine, it is incorrect, as it there stands “*ecclesiam deaurate,*” which seems as if the epithet applied not to the church, but to something in or belonging to it.



his coming, or being taken, down from the ladder, he shall betake himself without delay to the prison near the Castle of Narbonne, and put himself in there, to remain for ever (*se ad carcerem....transferat et intradat ibidem perpetuo moraturus*). And if he shall condemn or neglect to fulfil these our injunctions, and commands, by not wearing the said tongues, or by not going into the said prison, or by rashly quitting it without the leave of us or our successors in this office, or by acting at any time contrary to his oath, we do, by the authority which we exercise, excommunicate him by these presents, for this, and all future times, and occasions (*ex nunc et ux tunc, et ex tunc ut ex nunc*), as a person perjured, impenitent, and liable for his former crimes—canonically admonishing all and singular, that no person of whatsoever condition, or state, he may be, shall knowingly afford counsel, help, or favour, to the said Poncius, if he neglects the matters aforesaid, or to assist him to avoid them; and let them know, that if they shall do otherwise, we do by these presents excommunicate them. These things however we have enjoined upon the aforesaid Poncius, retaining to ourselves, and our successors in this office, full power of adding, diminishing, changing, aggravating, or alleviating, this penance, or punishment, or otherwise sentencing, as often as to us, and our successors in this office, by the advice of good men, it shall be deemed expedient.

“ This sentence, and that which immediately precedes it, was given in the Church of St. Stephen at Thoulouse, on Saturday, the 22nd of April, in the year 1312, in the presence of,” &c.

This case (according to Limborch, Hist. Inq. Lib. iv. c. 19) is referred to by Eymericus, Direct. Part III. §. 3. comm. 122. In the short notice of the 13th Sermo, which, as I have said, seems rather a postscript to the book, six persons are mentioned (two of them priests) as false witnesses, or accusers; but their punishment is only indicated by the words

"*cruces et lingue*" placed against their names. Beside these, I know of no other case, but that of *Johannes*, 180, who charged certain persons with being in the company of Peter Auterius, at a certain time and place, when the Inquisitors (who seem to have kept a sharp eye on that heretic) knew that he could not have been there. His sentence was similar to this of Poncius; and I cannot find that either was afterwards remitted or mitigated. Whether such a course was likely to encourage persons to bring charges which they could not prove, let the reader judge for himself; if, on such a point, he can venture to do so. Limborch is much scandalized at the lenity of the Inquisition towards false witnesses. After referring to these cases, he says, "*Raro tamen falsi istiusmodi testes puniuntur poena aliquatenus gravitati criminis ipsorum proportionata, procul dubio, ne nimium homines a testimonio ferendo deterreantur.*"

*No. XII. Culpa—Galhardus, 144.*

"GALHARDUS Faber, weaver, Son of the late Arnald Faber of Soricinum [Soreze, in the diocese of Lavaur] as legally appears to us by his confession judicially made 25th Sept. 1310, frequently heard the heretics commended confidentially, and secretly, by certain persons whom he names in his confession; and agreed with them that he would see one of them. And, afterwards, on a certain day, they brought to his house, a certain heretic who was called Peter Auterius, who dined in his house, with certain other persons who accompanied him (*ibant cum eo*); and there he saw the aforesaid heretic adored by some of those who then accompanied (*qui tunc ibant*) the said heretic; and there the said heretic drew him, Galhardus, apart, and told him, that no one could be saved unless he was received by them at the time of his death, and made the agreement (*convenienciam*) with them. And he asked him if he would enter into the agreement with them? and he answered him 'yes.' Also he heard, and knew, that the said heretic then went to receive a certain sick person, whom he did not hear named, nor the place. Also he believed the heretics to be good men, and true; and that a man



might be saved in their faith, and sect; and was in that belief for half a year. The things aforesaid he committed six years before he made a judicial confession of them; nor did he confess until he was apprehended and detained in prison."

Imprisoned at the fourth Sermo, 23rd of April, 1312, and discharged with the crosses at the ninth Sermo, 8th of Dec. 1319.

*No. XIII. Culpa—Guilielmus, 340.*

"GUILIELMUS de Bosco, Son of the late Guilielmus de Bosco, of Bornum, in the diocese of Montauban (as by his confession judicially made the 22nd of August, in the year of our Lord 1321, legally appears) on one occasion was led by his mother, Johanna, at night, after supper, to the house of Petrus de Bayssanis, where they found the said Peter, and his wife, and sons whom he names, sitting by the fire—and there were there with them two strangers (*homines extranei*) whom he did not know, and whose names he did not hear. And one of them asked of him who he was? And Ricarda, his grandmother, answered that he was the son of the aforesaid Johanna her daughter. And there came Sancius Mercaderius, who talked with one of the two strange men apart, and afterwards they called the other, and those three went away together, and he did not know where they went to, or why they went away. And afterwards, when he and his mother had returned home, he asked his mother what sort of men they were? who answered that they were of the good men; but he did not understand her to say this of heretics, and knew nothing else about them. The things aforesaid he saw and heard sixteen, or eighteen years before he came to reveal them. Being asked why he had so long delayed to reveal, and confess, the things aforesaid, when his mother had been imprisoned on account of heresy, and P. his brother sen-

tenced to wear crosses, he answered that ' It was his simplicity, and he wished he had come before to reveal the the things aforesaid.' "

He was sentenced, for the above offences, at the fourteenth Sermo, 12th of September, 1322, to make the " Peregrinationes minores"—that is, to visit a certain number of churches. At the same time his brother *Raymundus*, 341, was sentenced to wear crosses. His grandmother, *Ricarda*, 4, mentioned in his confession, appears to have been hereticated at the time of her death.—*Johanna*, 120, his mother, had been imprisoned 23rd of April, 1312. She was the sister of *Raymundus*, 27, who, with his wife, *Guilielma*, 27, had been imprisoned at the second Sermo, 25th of May, 1309, and who was afterwards, at the third Sermo, 5th of April, 1310, delivered over to the secular arm, p. 83. His brother, *Petrus*, 28, also mentioned in the confession, had been imprisoned at the second Sermo, in 1309.

No. XIV. *Culpa*—*Arnaldus*, 109.

" *ARNALDUS SICREDUS*, son of the late *Petrus Sicredus*, of Salieth, near Seguerilla (as legally appears to us by his own confession judicially made on the 5th of February, in the year of our Lord 1311) heard and knew from *Guilielmus Sicredus*, his brother, that *Petrus Sicredus*, their father, had been hereticated in the sickness of which he died, by a certain heretic, which heretic was still in the house of their father. And the said *Guilielmus* asked if he would see the heretic, and speak with him, and he consented. And, afterwards, on two occasions by night, the said *Arnaldus* came to the said house, where he saw the said heretic, who was called *Petrus Sancius*, and heard the words of the preaching of the said heretic which he was reading in a certain book, with other persons whom he names in his confession. Also, afterwards, at the request of *Raymundus de Morovilla*, he granted and agreed that the said heretic should return to the same house; and he, *Arnaldus*, with *Guilielmus* and *Petrus*, his brothers prepared a certain secret place in which the said heretic might

remain concealed ; and made a hole in the wall, by which the heretic might go in and out secretly. And afterwards the said heretic was brought to the said house by Raymundus de Morovilla, in which house the said Arnaldus saw the aforesaid heretic on a certain night, and heard his words and preaching, with other persons whom he names. And the same night, having heard that the said Raymundus de Morovilla was taken by the Inquisitor of Thoulouse, the said heretic went away by night, fearing lest he should be taken. And on the following day, the messengers of the Inquisition came to apprehend the said heretic ; and the said Arnaldus, though frequently asked, and though he was offered grace on the part of the Inquisitor, if he would give up the heretic, or direct how he might be taken, would not disclose any of the matters aforesaid. Being interrogated as to his belief of the heretics, he denied any. The things aforesaid he committed three months before he judicially confessed them ; nor did he confess till he was detained in prison, and at first he denied the truth."

Sentenced to imprisonment, 23rd of April, 1312 ; discharged, 7th of March, 1315. The case of his father, here stated to have been hereticated, has been already referred to, p. 250. *Bona*, 110, (there cited) was his sister, and she, with five brothers, and two sisters-in-law, are among the persons confessing, and receiving sentence.

*No. XV. Culpa—Gerald, 159.*

"GERALDA, wife of Vitalis de Tholosa, of Castelsarazin, daughter of the late Arnaldus de Podio Armerio (as legally appears to us by her own confession judicially made 5th of May, 1309) heard the life, and sect, and matter of the heretics (*factum hereticorum*) commended by Guilielmus de Proaudo de Coquinis ; and he shewed her one of them who was called Jacobus, the first time, when the said Gerald gave two silver pieces of Tours (*touronenses argentei*) for charity ; and the same day, in a certain



house which she names, she saw the said *Jacobus*, the heretic, and heard his preaching, with some other persons whom she names. Also she made an appointment with certain women whom she names, that they would watch in the church of the Holy Cross at *Thoulouse*, that they might there more secretly discourse and speak about the heretics, for which purpose she had then come to *Thoulouse*. And they had with them that night in the said church, *Jacobus*, the heretic before mentioned, and there she heard the words, and preaching, and erroneous doctrine of the said heretic, with other persons whom she names; in particular, that the body of Christ is not in the consecrated host, and that the Prince of this world, the Devil, had made all things that are corruptible. Also against Baptism, and Matrimony, and against the Romish Church. And there the said *Geralda* adored the said heretic, bowing herself three times before him, saying each time, 'Benedicite.' Also she there caused the consecrated bread to be made by the said heretic, by reason of devotion and of the belief which she had, that it was possible to be saved in the faith of the said heretic. And she received some of the said bread, and ate of it, and reserved a part, and kept it many years, and sometimes ate of that bread. Also she made a promise and agreement with the said heretic, that at the time of her death, she would be received to the order of the heretics. Also there were given to the said *Geralda* some gloves, of which she was told that a certain female heretic had made them, which she preserved for many years; and kept in them some of the consecrated bread, and preserved them in her box. Also, before all the things aforesaid, at many different times, *Guilielmus de Podio Armerio*, her Uncle, commended to her, *Geralda*, the life and sect, and matter of the heretics, inducing her to the love, and belief, of them; and that she should do good to the friends, and believers, of that sect—namely, heresy—



and she, Geralda, gave and sent many things in money and in cloth, to such persons as she heard were friends of the sect of the heretics, and who were punished for what they had done, whom she names in her confession. Also she commended and praised the life, and sect, and matter of the heretics, to some persons connected with her, whom she names in her confession, inducing them to the love, and belief, of them. Also she believed the heretics to be good men, and to have a good life, and to hold and teach the way of salvation, and that a man might be saved in their faith; and she began to be of the said belief fifteen years before she judicially confessed the things aforesaid; and she was more confirmed in the said belief when she heard the preaching of the said Jacobus, the heretic, and made the agreement with him, and continued in the said belief until she was cited, and began to confess the things aforesaid, and at first denied the truth concerning the matters aforesaid, when judicially examined."

It appears that she did not live until the Sermo, 23rd of April, 1312, at which this culpa was recited; and at which it was declared, that if she had lived she would have been imprisoned.

*No. XVI. Culpa—Petrus, 10.*

"PETRUS GILABERTUS, the son of Vitalis Gilabertus of Ferrus (as appears to us by his confession legally and judicially made) saw many times heretics in his father's house, and adored them with bended knees, and joined hands, bowing himself profoundly and thrice saying, 'Benedicite;' and heard their words, and admonitions, and preaching. Also, he accompanied them from place to place. Being asked if he believed the heretics to be good men, he answered he did not. The heretics whom he saw are these—namely, Peter Auterius, James his son, Amelius de Perlis, Peter Sancius of Garda, whom he once conducted from St. Sulpice to Ferrus, being sent to fetch a heretic,

and they came by night. Also, he would not confess the aforesaid until he was apprehended, and detained; and at first he denied the truth. Also, in his confession which he made at first, he knowingly concealed some things as to the matter of heresy, contrary to his own oath, as he afterwards judicially acknowledged. He is convicted of seeing and adoring heretics, by two concurring witnesses."

A marginal note by the Inquisitor, says, "he was then a youth, and therefore more mildly dealt with, and he had the crosses." But it does not appear that they were taken off until 1322—that is thirteen years afterwards.

*No. XVII. Culpa—Raimondus, 11.*

"RAIMONDUS YVERNATUS, son of Poncius Yvernatus of Bornum, (as appears to us by his confession legally and judicially made) saw two heretics in a certain loft, of the house of Guilielmus Espanhol of Bornum, whom Guilielma the wife of Guilielmus Espanhol shewed him, whose names he did not know; but he knew them to be such, because they themselves said that they were of those who were called heretics, but they did not consider themselves such; and he there heard some of their discourse.

"Also, after three days the said Guilielma asked him if he wished to see them again; and he answered, 'No.'—Committing the aforesaid two years before his confession of the aforesaid."

At the second Sermon, 25th of May, 1309, he was for this offence, sentenced to wear a cross. At the seventh Sermon, (7th of March, 1315,) he was sentenced to imprisonment, for having laid aside his cross, and fled from Thoulouse, and contumaciously remained absent under a sentence of excommunication, as well as for various matters which he confessed on his apprehension. I give this, and some other short commonplace *culpe*, as specimens of a large class; my object being to enable the reader to form a judgment of the book which contains them.

*No. XVIII. Culpa—Arnaldus, 11.*

“ARNALDUS YSARNUS, son of Geraldus Ysarnus of Villemur (as appears to us by his own confession legally and judicially made) saw James the heretic, and adored him with bended knees, and joined hands, bowing himself profoundly over a bench, as his father and mother had taught him to do, who there did the same thing, and he was then fifteen years of age.”

A marginal note by the Inquisitor, says, “let his crosses be taken off at the next Sermon, on account of his age.” But he seems to have laid them aside, and fled, before that time; and after having been excommunicated while fugitive, and declared to be a heretic, he was taken in 1321, and sentenced to imprisonment. The reason which he assigned for laying aside his crosses, was, that he knew not how to get his living while he wore them. “Quia non inveniebat ubi, et cum quibus, posset lucrari victum suum portando cruces; et sic stetit, sine crucibus, apud Moysiicum x annis, cundo et redeundo versus Burdegalam cum navibus, lucrando victum suum.” Compare the VI. Canon of the Council of Beziers, already given. p. 207.

*No. XIX. Culpa—Jacobus, 11.*

“JACOBUS MERCADERIUS, son of Jacobus Mercaderius of Bornum, (as appears by his confession legally and judicially made) saw Peter Auterius, and James Auterius, the heretics, and adored them with bended knees, and joined hands, and saying three times ‘Benedicite;’ and knew them to be such, in the house of himself and his brothers in Bornum.

“Also, he believed that there had frequently been heretics concealed in a certain loft of the said house; but he did not see them himself; because, as he says, his brothers were on their guard against him. He had committed these things three years before he made his confession.”

The marginal note of the Inquisitor, says, "he is a youth of about eighteen, let him be discharged of the crosses at the next Sermon, as he was young when he did it." And they were taken off accordingly.

*No. XX. Culpa—Petrus, 22.*

"PETRUS TARDINUS, of Cabanile, as appears to us by his own confession, legally and judicially made, confessed before Brother John Vigorosus, Inquisitor of heretical pravity, deputed by the Apostolic See, on the 15th of Sept. A. D. 1288, that he had once seen in a certain copse two men, one of whom was called Arnaldus, the name of the other he did not know; and he heard from them, that they were of those good men whom other people call heretics. And another person, whom he names, brought bread, and wine, and apples, and nuts, to the aforesaid copse, where they ate, and he with them. And he saw that one person, whom he names, bowed himself before the aforesaid men, and said some words which he did not understand; and afterwards he himself, being admonished by somebody who was there, bowed his knees three times before the said heretics, and joined his hands, and does not remember what words he said. Being asked if he believed the heretics to be good men, and true, and that a man might be saved in their sect, he answered that he did, and was in that belief for a year afterwards. Being asked concerning the time, and the years, he answered that it might be twenty years, or thereabouts.

"The aforesaid Petrus Tardinus being judicially brought before Brother Bernard Guido, Inquisitor of heretical pravity, and sworn, on the 2nd of December, 1308, acknowledged, that he had been absolved by the aforesaid Brother John, from the sentence of excommunication which he had incurred for the said matters which he had confessed concerning heresy before him in the Church of Cabanile; and he believes that he there abjured



heresy in his presence. The aforesaid Petrus Tardinus of Cabanile (as appears to us by his own confession legally and judicially made) saw in his house a certain man who had a disorder in his leg, with a certain other man who had brought him, and they supped, and slept there that night; and he saw him reading in a certain book, in a certain chamber. And by what he saw, and heard, of him, he then suspected him to be a heretic. And, afterwards, the said man came from the chamber to the fire, and asked him if he would hear some good words; but he did not hear him then, but went to bed. Then he believed that man to be a heretic, or believer of the heretics. And he lay there that night and he would not receive anything for his lodging. And the following morning he went to Auriac, to the house of Andrena; and the said Andrena sent a messenger to Petrus Tardinus the following night, to fetch him; but he did not go; and, on the third day, he heard from a certain person who had been present, that that aforesaid man, and his father, had been in the house of the said Andrena; and he had heard him speaking excellently concerning God, and the Epistles, and Gospels. And the following day the said Andrena blamed Petrus Tardinus, that he had not come there; saying, that if he had come, he would have heard so many good words, that he would have been the better as long as he lived. And she told him that that man who had been as a guest in his house, with a certain other, were in the house of her Andrena when she sent for him; and one of them was called Jacobus, and they were both of those who were called heretics, but yet they were good men, as the said Andrena said; and she greatly commended, and praised them, to him, that they were friends of God, and induced him by her words to the love of them. Also, afterwards, about Michaelmas, the said Andrena told him weeping, that that man who had been his guest, whom she called her

most dear friend, was apprehended at Carcassone by the Inquisitors. Also, after the said Andrena had spoken to him in commendation of the heretics, and after he heard from her that the heretics had been lodging in her house, he believed the heretics to be good men, and true, and that one might be saved in their faith; and was in that belief from the time when the said Andrena spoke to him about the heretics, up to the time when she told him that the said heretic was taken at Carcassone. Also, he knew the said Andrena to be a believer of the heretics; but he did not reveal any of the aforesaid matters to the Inquisitors, nor did he confess them till he was by means of another person discovered, apprehended, and detained.

Sentenced "*ad murum largum*" at the second Sermo, 25th of May, 1309, and I do not see anything more about him. I quote the confession as containing almost the only (certainly the strongest) indication of anything like religious feeling, which I have met with in any Albigensian confession.

*No. XXI. Culpa and Sentence—Petrus, 68.*

"PETRUS RAYMUNDUS de Hugonibus, son of Raymond de Hugonibus (as appears by his own confession legally and judicially made before us) went to seek for heretics at Limoux, with Guilielmus Falquetus, where they found Peter Auterius, and James his son, heretics, in the house of Guilielmus Petrus Cavalerius, and heard their words and preaching. And, as he was taught, he adored them, saying, 'Good Christians, God's blessing and your's,' bending his knees three times, with his hands on a certain bench, bowing before them, and saying each time, 'Benedicite;' and he saw them adored in the same way by others. Also, on one occasion, in the house of Martinus Franciscus, of Limoux, he saw five heretics together—namely, Peter Auterius, James his son, William Auterius, and Amelius, and Peter Raymund of St. Paponl;

and he heard their words and preaching, and adored them in the aforesaid heretical manner, and saw them adored by other persons whom he names. Also he received, and kept in his house, Peter Auterius, and James, the heretics, two days and two nights; and heard their preaching; and when they went away he accompanied them for a small space. Also, in the house where Raymundus Sartor, brother-in-law of Peter Auterius lived, in Thoulouse, he saw and visited Peter and James, the heretics, and ate there with them, and with certain persons whom he names, and there saw the heretics adored. Also, he once went with Peter Raymund, the heretic, to Bornum to the house of the Spaniards (*ad campmasium Hyspanorum*) where they found Peter Auterius, and James, and Amelius, the heretics, and certain of their believers, whom he names. And a certain contention which there was between Peter Raymund, the heretic, and Amelius, was there terminated; and afterwards he returned with the said Peter Raymund, the heretic, to Thoulouse. Also, another time, he accompanied Peter Auterius from Thoulouse, as far as St. Sulpice, to the house of Barahona, where they found James Auterius, and Amelius, and he saluted them in the heretical manner—namely, by embracing, putting his hands on each shoulder, and turning his head this way and that, three times, and saying each time, ‘Benedicite.’ And the heretics mutually adored each other. And then it was appointed that Amelius, the heretic, with Martinus Franciscus, should go into Lombardy, to Bernard Audoyanus, the heretical Ancianus (*hereticum Ancianum*) that he might reconcile the said Amelius, who had transgressed in the sect (*qui peccaverat in secta*). And then he gave Martinus Franciscus fifteen *albus*’s of Tours for that journey. And then and there he saw with the heretics, many believers whom he names. Also, in the house of Guilielma, wife



of Martinus de Proauto, he saw four heretics together—namely, Peter Auterius, and James, and Peter Raymund, and Amelius, at one time. Also, in the house of Bernard Leretus, of Thoulouse, at another time, he saw three heretics together, and saluted them in the heretical manner aforesaid, and then there was a contention among them, concerning a certain sum of money (*triginta librarum Turonensium parvorum*) which a certain woman of Cabardesium had bequeathed to them; which the said Bernard held in trust, and which was to be divided among them. Also in the house of Raymund Bernerius of Verdunetum, he saw Peter Raymund, and Bernard Audoynus heretics; to whom he delivered some fish which he had carried for the heretics from St. Denis, which Johanna, daughter of Bernardus Guilielmus, sent to the heretics. Also he kept for fifteen days, sixty pieces of gold (*marabocinos auri*) and three other pieces of gold (*denarios aureos*) which P. Raymund the heretic of St. Papoul gave into his charge, and afterwards had back from him. Also in the house of Poncius de Ugonibus, his brother, he saw frequently Peter Auterius, and James his son, and Peter Raymund, and Amelius, the heretics; not at once, but by turns, and ate there with them. Also, he once took Peter Auterius, and James, to a certain garden near the place St. Cyprien (*juxta Ciprianum*) of Thoulouse; and caused certain persons, believers of the heretics, whom he names, to come thither that they might hear the discourses of the heretics. Also, in Verdunetum, in the house of Peter Andrew, he saw Peter Raymund, and Amelius, the heretics, and adored them, with some other persons whom he names. Also, on one occasion, he accompanied Peter Raymund the heretic, into Savartesium to Tarascon; and adored him, and saw him adored by Guilielmus Ugo. Also, another time, he accompanied Peter Auterius to Saverdun, to the



house of Guilielmus Ugo, and there adored the heretic. Also, in the Bolhacum<sup>2</sup> of Sancius Borrellus, he saw, and heard, Peter Auterius, and Amelius, the heretics, and adored them, and saw them adored by others. Also he once conducted Peter Auterius, and James, the heretics, to the house of Gentilis of Thoulouse, and left them there, with the books which he carried for them. Also in the house of Bernardus Leretus, he frequently saw heretics. Also he commended the life, and sect, of the heretics to many persons; inducing them to the love and belief of them. Also, frequently, and in many places, and with many persons, he heard the words, and preaching, and errors, of the heretics, against the Catholic faith, and against the Sacraments of the Lord Jesus Christ of the Romish Church expressly. Also, he many times ate of bread blessed by the heretics, and saw the manner of benediction. Also he was a great benefactor, and gave much to the heretics. Also he believed the heretics to be good men, and true; and that a man might be saved in their faith. Committing the things aforesaid five years, four, three, two, and one, before his confession of them.

“The aforesaid Peter Raymond is found, by many witnesses, to have concealed many things concerning heresy; of which, being afterwards frequently enquired of in general terms, he would confess nothing; whereby he deserved to lose all favour if any had been at first promised him.”

He appears to have confessed in 1306. For these offences he was imprisoned at the third Sermo, 5th of April, 1310. At a special Sermo

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<sup>2</sup> I do not know the meaning of this term, which is, perhaps, the same as *Bolagium*, or *Bolhagium*, which has been supposed to mean a place for catching or keeping fish. It very frequently occurs, as if it were the proper name of a place, and certainly many persons seem to have lived there. I have elsewhere translated it as a proper name, and do not feel sure that I ought not to do so here.

(*Sermo particularis*) held on the 20th of September, 1313, he was delivered to the secular arm as a relapsed heretic, under the following sentence ;—

*Petrus Raymundus de Hugonibus*—178.

“ In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. We brother Raymond de Jumato, of the order of Dominicans, locum tenens of the ecclesiastical person brother Bernard Guido, of the same order, Inquisitor of heretical pravity in the Kingdom of France, deputed by Apostolical authority, now absent from Thoulouse, and Arnaldus de Villario Canon in the church of Cahors, and Barravus de Perhyssaco Canon of Bazas, representatives in this matter of the Reverend Father in Christ the Lord Galhardus by divine providence Bishop of Thoulouse—Whereas it legally, and evidently, and judicially, appears to us that you Peter Raymond de Hugonibus, son of the late Raymond de Hugonibus, an inhabitant of Thoulouse, born at Hugones, near Caravelum, after you had formerly made confession of those things that you had committed in heresy, by receiving heretics, by frequently accompanying them from place to place, by adoring in the heretical manner, by hearing their pestiferous preaching and teaching, by believing in their errors, and by committing other things which are contained more at large in your confession—and you had been punished for these things, and had received penance, and had promised correction, and amendment, and had abjured heresy judicially, as appears to us by your confession judicially made, and by the proceedings and acts of the Inquisition—since that time, like a dog returning to his vomit, not fearing to add new crimes to your old ones, and in no wise dreading the Divine judgment, you have returned to your abjured heresy (if indeed you ever heartily renounced it) which heresy you yourself confessed before us, and do also both impiously, and wickedly,



profess before us ; for you have said, and asserted, and do pertinaciously say, and assert, judicially before us, that you believe, and maintain, the errors and horrors, following—namely,

“ That carnal matrimony, between man and woman, is not true matrimony, nor good, nor lawful, nor instituted by God ; and you maintain another sort of spiritual matrimony, as you have learned from the heretics.

“ Item, That baptism performed in material water, as the Romish Church performs, and holds, and teaches, is altogether worthless.

“ Item, That in the sacrament of the altar, there is not the true body of Christ, but only mere bread.

“ Item, That there will not be a resurrection of human bodies, nor will any one rise in the judgment with his visible, and material, body.

“ Item, That a benevolent God made all invisible, and incorruptible, things ; and that an evil ruler, namely Lucifer, made all visible, and corruptible things, and even human bodies.

“ Item, That confession made to the priests of the Roman Church, and absolution given by them to those who confess, are altogether worthless.

“ Item, That every oath, whether for truth or falsehood, is a sin, and unlawful ; and you yourself being frequently judicially required to swear by us, have refused, and do pertinaciously refuse, so to do.

“ Item, That the sign of the Holy Cross avails nothing, nor will you sign yourself with that sign, but you altogether object, and refuse.

“ Item, You say, and assert, that the late Peter Auterius, a notorious heretic condemned by the judgment of the Church, and delivered to the fire, and burnt, by the secular court, and all others his companions holding the sect and faith of the said Peter Auterius, are good men,

and good christians, and have a good faith, and good sect, in which you say that you wish to live and die ; but all others who do not hold the faith of the said Peter Auterius, and who hold the faith of the Romish Church, you say and assert, do not hold the way of salvation, and safety, and that you believe the said Peter Auterius the heretic to be saved.

“ Item, You deny the sacrament of extreme unction, and say that it is of no avail to salvation.

“ Item, Impiously blaspheming the sacrament of the Incarnation of the Son of God, you say and assert, that God never entered into the womb of the blessed Virgin Mary, and that he only is the mother, brother, and sister, of God, who keeps the commandments of God the Father.

“ Item, You yourself voluntarily take away your own bodily life, and inflict death upon yourself, because you have put yourself into that abstinence which the heretics call *endura* ; in which *endura* you have already remained six days without meat and drink, nor would you eat, nor will you now, although you have been many times invited, and thus you hasten to eternal death with the damned.

“ Item, You have said that if you could come at Peter Sancius, the notorious heretic, or any other of his sect, you would wish to be received to their order, and sect, according to their manner, and rite, which the holy Romish Church holds to be damnable, and pestiferous, and, as such, condemns.

“ Item, You have said, and asserted, many times, and still do assert, before us, that you never will depart from the aforesaid belief or rather unbelief, but that you wish to persevere to live and to die in it.

“ These and other errors, and horrors, and so great perfidy, which you have so shamefully confessed, and do pertinaciously confess, before us, you have refused to revoke, or to depart from ; but you persist in your perfidy,



with an obdurate mind, although you have been admonished concerning your salvation, by many good men, ecclesiastics and others, and have been often invited to confession, and penance, and at length have been by us a first, second, and third time, canonically, and peremptorily, required. And therefore we the aforesaid locum tenentes of the Inquisitor, and Lord Bishop, aforesaid, having the Lord before our eyes, and the purity of the Orthodox faith—the holy gospels being placed before us, that our judgment may go forth, from the face of God, and that our eyes may see equity—sitting as a tribunal, having first consulted many good men learned in the law and ecclesiastics, lest like a sickly sheep you should infect the healthy sheep of the Lord's flock, do by these presents, pronounce, and declare, and sententially decree, you Peter Raymund, now present before us, in this time and place peremptorily assigned you for the hearing your definitive sentence, to be a public heretic, and also one relapsed into heresy, which you had formerly judicially abjured. And since the holy mother Church has nothing more that she can do against you, for your demerits, we do, in and by this present writing, leave you to the secular arm, and court.

“ This Sentence was passed in the Cathedral Church of St. Stephen at Thoulouse, on Friday the Eve of St. Matthew, the Apostle and Evangelist, namely, the 20th of September, in the year of our Lord 1313, at a public Sermon; the clergy and people being convoked, and collected, in a great multitude in the presence of,” &c.

*No. XXII. Culpa—Uwnardus, 232.*

“ UWNARDUS DE ALUSIO, a Burgundian, an inhabitant of Maseres near Castelnau de Barbazenchés in the diocese of Auch (as appears to us by his confession legally and judicially made on the 7th of November, 1311) saw,

and received into his house, the following Valdenses, not all at once, but on different occasions, times, and days,—namely, Perrinus Savorellus, Hymbertus his companion, Perrinus Belys, Perrinus de Gaudo, Johannes Clericus, Johannes de Cerno, Stephanus Porcherius, Petitus, Gerardus de Vienna, Johannes Martinus, Stephanus Bordetus; knowing the aforesaid to be Valdenses or Poor Men of Lyons, and he gave them to eat and drink of the provisions of his house, and sometimes some of the aforesaid slept there. Also, in other places and houses, he saw and visited certain of the aforesaid. Also, he gave of his money to certain Valdenses; and received as a gift from some of them *gavinetos*, and needles. Also, he several times sold in the market corn which had been given to the Valdenses, and paid them the money. Also, he many times prayed with the Valdenses, before and after dinner, bending his knees and leaning upon a bench according to their manner of praying. Also, he confessed his sins to certain Valdenses, although he knew that they were not priests ordained by a Bishop of the Church of Rome. Also, he heard their words, and preaching; among which he heard that a man ought not to swear, because it was a sin. Also, he believed the Valdenses to be good men, and true; and to have a good faith, and a good sect, in which they, and others who held it, might be saved; although he knew that the Inquisitors, and those of the Romish Church, persecuted them; and he was in the said belief, for fifteen years. The aforesaid things he committed eighteen years before he judicially confessed them, neither would he confess until he was taken into custody, and detained in prison; and at first he denied the truth when under examination against his own oath."

Sentenced "ad murum largum." The word "*gavinetos*," which stands untranslated, is one that I have not seen elsewhere—It seems to



come nearest to *Gabinetum* (fr. *Cabinet*, ital. *Gabinetto*) though I do not know that that word was ever used in any sense which can apply to this case; if so it may signify little boxes, such as pedlars might carry for sale. It appears, however, more probable that it is derived from *Gavinum*, or *Gavina*, both of which signified articles of dress; the former, "toga, la veste;" and the latter, "species vestimenti super humeros habens purpurum." See the words in Adelung's Gloss. Man.

No. XXIII. *Culpa*—*Johannes*, 234.

"JOHANNES, son of Wunardus, a Burgundian, an inhabitant of Maseres in the diocese of Auch (as appears to us by his confession legally and judicially made on 21st of January, 1311) saw in the house of his father, at different times and days, Cristinus, Johannes Chapayro, Gerardus, Mondonus Burgundus, Johannes de Cerno, Johannes son of Martinus de Monte Gausio, and Stephanus, and another Gerard, of whom he heard his father and mother say, that they were good men, and among themselves called each other brethren; and they conjured him that he would not discover them, neither tell any one that they came there, because they knew they should be taken, and as to this matter the said Cristinus also conjured him. Also, he ate and drank with the said Valdenses, at the same table. Also, he prayed with them with bended knees, and leaning upon a bench, according to their manner of praying. Also, he heard their words and admonitions; amongst which he heard from them, that a man ought not to swear, because it is a great sin. Also that they were able to hear confessions, and to absolve from sins. Also, he thrice confessed his sins to certain of the Valdensian men, who called themselves brethren of Lyons, although he knew that they were not priests ordained by any bishop of the Romish Church, and received absolution, and penance, from them; and he believed that it would profit him to salvation, as much as if he had confessed to his priest. Also, after he was cited,

and his father taken in custody, on account of the matter of the aforesaid men, he saw and visited twice the aforesaid Stephen of the brethren, or Poor Men of Lyons; and asked counsel of him what he should do about himself, and his father. Also, the aforesaid men, although he knew they did not wish to be discovered to others, he believed to be good men and true; and to have a good faith, and a good sect, in which they and others might be saved, and he was in this belief for four years. He committed the aforesaid things four years before he judicially confessed them, neither would he confess until he was taken into custody, and detained in the prison of Thoulouse, and when first examined he denied the truth against his own oath."

Imprisoned at the same time as his father (3rd of Sept. 1319), and released 12th of Sept. 1322. On that occasion he is mentioned as *Johannes Unnardus*; and the reader will see that, in the above confessions, the name is given in two other different ways. I mention this only as a specimen of what I have before stated, respecting the book generally, at p. 216. n.

*No. XXIV. Culpa—Petrus, 352.*

"*PETRUS AYMON*, a Burgundian, son of the late Michael, a native of Torum, in the diocese of Besançon, now living in Alzonne, in the diocese of Rodez (as appears by his confession, legally and judicially made on 1st of August, 1320) forty-five years or thereabouts before the time of his confession, received into his house *Johannes de Grandi-Valle*, knowing him to be of the sect of the Valdenses, of whom he had before heard in Burgundy; that the Inquisitors of heretical pravity persecuted the Valdenses, and that they were taken, and burnt, when ever they could be found. And he received the said John the Valdensian many times into his house, to sleep there, and to eat and drink of the provisions of his house; and he saw him blessing the table after the manner of the Valdenses,



and praying with his knees bent, and leaning on a bench, according to the manner of praying of the Valdenses; and he and his wife, Martina, prayed in the like manner with them. Also, forty years, or thereabouts, before the time of his confession, he received into his house Gerardus Provincialis, a Valdensian, knowing him to be such, on many occasions, and at different times, to sleep there, and to eat and drink of the provisions of his house; and he saw him blessing the table at dinner, and at supper, and praying according to the Valdensian manner of praying, and he prayed in like manner with him. Also, about the same time, he received in his house Perrinus Savorellus, a Valdensian, and gave him to eat and to drink, and prayed in like manner with him. Also, thirty-five years before the time of his confession he received into his house John Chapayro, a Valdensian, knowing him to be such, and he gave him to eat and to drink of the provisions of his house, and he saw him praying according to the manner of the Valdenses, and he prayed in like manner with him. Also thirty years, and more, before the time of his confession he received into his house Johannes Moran, a Valdensian, knowing him to be such, to whom he gave to eat and to drink of the provisions of his house, and he saw him praying according to the manner of the Valdenses, and he prayed in like manner with him. Also, twenty years, or thereabouts, before the time of his confession, he received into his house to sleep, and to eat and drink of the provisions of his house, John de Cerno, and Peter de Cerno, brothers, Valdenses, knowing them to be such, and he saw them praying in their manner, and he prayed in like manner with them. Also, on another occasion, eight years before the time of his confession, he received the two Valdenses aforesaid into his house, and prayed with them. Also, fifteen years, or thereabouts, before the time of his confession, he received into his house Bartholomeus de

Caiarco, a Valdensian, with Hugnetus Garinus, to whom he gave to eat and to drink, and he prayed with the said Valdensian. Also, twelve years and more, before the time of his confession, Umbertus, a Valdensian, son of Johannes Odetus of Alzonne, came to his house, and he spoke with him there, knowing him to be a Valdensian. Also, six years, or thereabouts, before the time of his confession, he received into his house, to sleep and to eat and to drink of the provisions of his house, two Valdenses, knowing them to be such, of whom the one was called Garnerius, and he did not know the name of his companion, or had forgotten it, but his father was called Daninus, and he prayed with the said Valdenses, after their manner. Also, in the Lent last past before the time of his confession, he received into his house, to sleep and to eat and to drink, Arnaldus de Cerno, a Valdensian, and he saw him praying, and he prayed in like manner with him. Also, he heard the words and admonitions and exhortations of the Valdenses and their reading<sup>3</sup> out of the Gospels and Epistles, and he heard them saying, among other things, that a man ought not to swear, or kill, because to swear and to kill in all cases was a mortal sin. Also, he believed the Valdenses to be good men, and true; and that they had a good faith, and a good sect, in which they, and others who hold it, may be saved, and he was in that belief for forty years, or thereabouts—namely, from the time he first saw them, until the time when he was brought in custody to Thoulouse. Of the aforesaid things he did not make confession, neither reveal them, until he was taken, neither would he confess

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<sup>3</sup> "Predicationes eorum de Evangeliiis et Epistolis." I do not know whether this means "preaching concerning" or "reading out of."—The language of this book would certainly justify the latter translation; but I am not sure that it would authorize the former.



until he was detained in prison, and he denied the truth when first examined contrary to his own oath, and he abjured all heresy."

Sentenced to imprisonment. His two sons (the culpa of one of whom follows) received sentence of milder punishment at the same time.

*No. XXV. Culpa—Helyas, 340.*

"**HELYAS**, son of **Petrus Aymon**, living at **Alzonne** in the diocese of **Rodez** (as legally appears by his confession judicially made on the 13th of September, **A. D. 1320**) six years before his confession, saw in the house of his father aforesaid, at **Alzonne**, a certain stranger, of whom **John Aymon** his brother said to him, that he was called **John de Cerno**, and was of their kindred, and he commended him that he was good; and the said **John de Cerno** advised him, that he should be an honest man; and he heard him, **Helyas**, swearing, and then he reprov'd him for swearing, saying to him that he was not as good as he ought to be (*quod non erat satis probus homo*) but at that time he did not know of the said **John de Cerno** that he was of the sect of the **Valdenses**, until afterwards he heard said, and there was a rumour at **Alzonne**, that **Huguetus Garinus** was taken at **Avignon**, and burnt as a **Valdensian**; and from that time he began to think with himself of the said **John de Cerno** that he was of the same sect or society. Also, after the aforesaid things, and three years before the time of his confession, he saw in the house of **John Aymon** his brother, two strangers whom he did not know, nor their names, who supped there with **Guilielma** wife of the aforesaid **John Aymon** his brother; concerning whom the said **Guilielma** told him, that they were friends of their's, whom he did not know then to be **Valdenses**; but, afterwards, when he heard that the said **Huguetus Garinus** was taken, and burnt, as a **Valdensian**, because the said **Guilielma** was sister to the before-mentioned **Huguetus**,

and that the family of the father of the said Guilielma and the said Huguetus were involved in the matter of the Valdenses, he suspected the aforesaid men to be of some bad sect. Also, he knew that John his brother sometimes received certain strangers in his father's house, in which he then lived with his brother John, of whom he said that they were related to the aforesaid Guilielma his wife; and one of them whose surname he did not know, was called Gerardus, and the other was called P. de Cerno, of whom the aforesaid John, his brother, told him that he was brother, or relation, to John de Cerno. Of the aforesaid things he did not come to confess, nor to reveal them, until he was cited to Thoulouse, but he did not come but went to Avignon, where he confessed the aforesaid things before the Inquisitor of Thoulouse, who was then there."

For these offences he was sentenced to perform the lesser pilgrimages (*peregrinationes minores sine crucibus*) that is, to visit seventeen churches, which are specified. He was to begin within three months, faithfully to persevere until he should have completed his task, and to bring from each place a certificate that he had been there.

*No. XXVI. Culpa—Stephanus, 343.*

"STEPHANUS DE VINEIS, otherwise surnamed de na Bernarda, inhabitant and native of Alzonne in the diocese of Rodez, son of the late Peter de Vineis, native of Montinhacum in the diocese of Perigueux (as appears to us by his confession legally and judicially made on the 11th of July, 1320) ten years or thereabouts before the time of his confession, on a certain night coming from out of doors into his house, he found there Bartholomew de Vineis his brother, and a certain man whom he did not otherwise know, who slept there that night; of which man the aforesaid Bartholomew his brother told him, that he was called John de Cerno, and he commended him that he was a good man, and if he would be of his mind, he would



teach him what would save his soul; and he conjured him not to tell any one of him that he had come there, and that he had seen him, because the said John was of those who were called Poor Men of Lyons, and they call themselves brethren. Also, six or seven years or thereabouts, before the time of his confession, he saw at a certain time in the house of Guilielmus Garinus of Alzonne, Huguetus Garinus, and a certain other man of whom he heard and knew, that he was the master of the said Huguetus, and that he was called Bartholomew, and of whom he knew that they were of those who are called Poor Men of Lyons, and he heard the words and admonitions of the said Bartholomew; among which he heard the said Bartholomew say, that to swear was in all cases a sin, and that God had forbidden swearing, and that he should take heed to himself not to swear, and he drank with them there. Also, three years, or thereabouts, before the time of his confession, on a certain night, he found a certain man in the road in the town of Alzonne, of whom he heard and knew that he was called Stephanus Bordetus, and that he was of those people who are afraid to go about by day (*de illis gentibus que non audebant ire de die*) because they were harassed by the people. Also, in the present year of his confession, before Lent, on a certain night, a man came to his house, and knocked at the door, and asked him if he would take him in; and he brought him in, and he slept there that night, and he heard from him that he was called Arnaldus, and he knew and understood that he was of those who are called Poor Men of Lyons, and he heard his words and admonitions. Also, he believed the aforesaid Poor Men of Lyons, who are otherwise called Valdenses, to be good men, and that they have a good faith, and a good sect, in which they, and others who hold it, may be saved, on account of the words which he heard from them, and on account of that which his brother had

said to him of them, although he knew that they were harassed by other people. And he was in the said belief from the time when he first saw them, until that time in which he had heard say that Huguetus Garinus aforesaid was burnt, and he was in that belief for eight years or thereabouts. The aforesaid things he did not confess, neither did he come to reveal them, until he was called, and judicially required, and by others accused or named."

*No. XXVII. Culpa—Raymunda, 344.*

"RAYMUNDA, wife of Stephanus de Vineis, otherwise called de na Bernarda, inhabitant of Alzonne, in the diocese of Rodez, daughter of Peter Aymon, a Burgundian (as legally appears by her own confession judicially made the 29th of January, 1321) about ten years, or thereabouts, before the time of her confession, Bartholomeus de Vineis, the brother of her husband, brought to her house two men, of whom one was called Johannes de Cerno, and the other Peter, and they were brothers. And they supped there, she seeing them, but she did not know, nor hear it then said, that they were Valdenses. Also, after the aforesaid, four years or thereabouts before the time of her confession, John Aymon, her brother, told her that there was a certain man in his house, who wished to speak with her. And he brought the said man to her house, of whom he said that he was called Arnald, and that he was a clerk. And there went with him a certain young man, and they sat down there with her, and with other persons whom she names. And then the said Arnald admonished her, and her sister Agnes, that they should do good and avoid evil. And afterwards they drank, and went away; nor did she then know of the said Arnald, or of his companion, that they were Valdenses. Also, two years since or thereabouts, the said John Aymon her brother came, another time, to her house with the said Arnald, and his companion, and



they saluted her, and staid there a little while, and afterwards went away. Also in the present year in which she made her said confession, she heard it said by Bartholomeus de Vineis, the brother of her husband, after he had returned from Thoulouse, where he had been confined in the prison of the Inquisitor, that the said Johannes de Cerno, and Peter, his brother, and the above-mentioned Arnald, were of those who were called Valdenses.

“The aforesaid Raymunda denies that she had known, or done, any thing in the matter of the Valdensian heresy (*de facto Valdesie*) and is not considered as having fully confessed, nor was she reconciled nor absolved; but because of a little sucking child, which she then had, she was dismissed to return home, that she might be examined at another time. Against the said Raymunda, Huguetus Garinus deposes, that he, and Bartholomeus de Caiarco, the Valdensian, were in the house of her and her husband; and she, and Agnes her sister, saw and knew them to be there, and that they were friends and believers of the Valdenses.”

Stephanus and his wife, for the offences here confessed, were sentenced to wear single crosses. *Bartholomew*, 353, here mentioned, and his wife *Agnes*, 359, were at the same time sentenced to imprisonment. Raymunda calls this Agnes her sister; and so she was, as well as her sister-in-law, for both were daughters of Peter Aymon, whose confession has been already given. I mention this as one of the numerous indications which the book affords, that the Burgundians, though settled in various places, were, to a considerable extent, a distinct people from those of the country.

*No. XXVIII. Sentence—Johannes, 262.*<sup>4</sup>

“In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen. We the foresaid Inquisitors of heretical pravity, and de-

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<sup>4</sup> This sentence having been translated by Chandler, and printed by him, in his translation of Limborch's History of the Inquisition, I give it as it there stands. p. 47.

legated commissaries of the venerable Persons, the Vicars General and Chapter of the Church of Aix, [Auch] during the Vacancy of the See. Whereas it evidently and legally appears to us, as well by the Inquisition made in general against all who are infected with heretical pravity, and by the Public Acts and Process of the said Inquisition, as well as by thy Answers, and Assertions, and proper Confessions made in Judgment, that you JOHN CHAUOAT, Son of [the late] Peter Chauoat, of the Village of Mulsia, near Urgeletum, in the Diocese of Besançon, usually dwelling at Vienne in the Diocese of Aix, [Auch] was long since taken up, and have been found by process, to be of the Sect and Heresy of those, who are called Valdenses, or poor men of Lyons; which Sect and Heresy the holy Roman Church hath many years ago condemned as heretical, and hath persecuted and condemned the followers and professors of it as heretics; which sect thou hast held and maintained for nine years past, participating and communicating with the Valdenses, knowing them to be such, by eating and drinking according to their manner, praying with them on your bended knees, by hearing their words and preachings which they make in their conventicles to their believers, and by receiving them in thy house, and also by often [aliquociens] confessing thy sins to them, and humbly receiving from them absolution and penance, which they call the amendment [*quam melioramentum vocant*]; and whereas being apprehended, and at the beginning, being judicially required, would'st not swear, but didst several times refuse to abjure the said sect and heresy, affirming that you believed it to be good, and that the followers of it were good men, and might be saved in it. And finally, whereas you have feignedly and falsely said with your mouth, but not with your heart, that you would depart from it, and abjure it, and hast in word but not with the heart judicially abjured it; of which feignedness



and falshood, and the doubleness of thy heart there is legal proof, by those things which you have plainly and fully since recognized, asserted and confessed in judgment. And farther, whereas you have manifested your treachery after your feigned tho' judicial abjuration of the said sect and heresy, by having denied, and still denying with an obstinate mind, tho' oftentimes required in judgment, to swear that you would speak the truth, and dost as before, and much more evidently, approve and commend the errors and heresies of the said sect, and assertest, that the followers of it are just and good men; and that the Prelates of the Roman Church, and the Inquisitors of heretical pravity, who persecute them, do unjustly and unrighteously, in apprehending and detaining them, because unwilling to forsake the said sect, and by delivering them over to the secular power. Particularly, whereas the erroneous followers and profane professors of the sect and heresy of the Valdenses hold<sup>6</sup> and affirm, that they are not subject to our Lord the Pope, or the Roman Pontiff, or to other Prelates of the Church of Rome, because it unjustly persecutes and condemns them. Item, They assert that they cannot be excommunicated by the said Roman Pontiff and Prelates, and that no one of them is to be obey'd, when they order and command the followers and professors of the said sect to desert and abjure it, altho' condemn'd as heretical by the Roman Church. Item, The foresaid sect and heresy, and followers and professors of the same, hold and dogmatize, that every oath, without exception or exposition, is prohibited of God, and is unlawful, and a sin; and this we have heard from your own mouth, that you so believe and hold, by applying

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<sup>6</sup> The words are "Prefate siquidem secte et heresis Valdensium devii sectatores et prophani professores tenent et dogmatizant," &c.

to this purpose the words of the holy gospel, and of St. James the Apostle, of not swearing, tho' in a mad and mistaken sense : Whereas, according to the sound doctrine of the Saints, and Doctors of the church, and tradition of the said holy Catholic Church, 'tis not only lawful but necessary to swear for attesting the truth in judgment, and also by a statute long since published against the foresaid error, 'tis appointed, that those who by a damnable superstition refuse an oath, and will not swear, shall be for this reason declared heretics, and subjected to the penalties ordered by the Canon. Item, Thou thyself hast oftentimes, and before many of us, being canonically and judicially required to swear for the truth [to speak the truth—*de veritate dicenda*] wholly refused to swear, and yet refusest it, asserting that you believe that 'tis prohibited by God, and unlawful, and a sin to swear at all. Item, From the same fountain of error, and mistaken understanding, the foresaid sect and heresy asserts, that all judgment is prohibited of God, and by consequence that 'tis a sin, and against the divine prohibition, that any judge, in any case, or for whatsoever cause, should judge any man to bodily punishment, or to death ; applying, without a proper exposition, the words of the holy gospel, where it is written, Judge not, that ye be not judged ; Item, Thou shalt not kill, [and the like] not understanding nor receiving them as the holy Roman Church understands and delivers them to the faithful, according to the doctrine of the Fathers and Doctors, and canonical sanctions ; which said sanctions the said sect, departing from the right path, neither receives nor accounts valid, but despises, renounces, and contemns. Item, Most perniciously erring about the sacrament of true penance, and the keys of the church ; they say, and teach, and hold, that they have power from God, as the Apostles had, of hearing the confessions of the sins of all that are willing to confess [confessiones peccatorum sibi



volencium confiteri] and of absolving and enjoining penances: and they do hear the confessions of such, and enjoin those who confess to them penances for their sins, tho' they are not ordained clerks or priests by any Bishop of the Roman Church, but are mere laicks, and confess they have not any such power from the Roman Church, but rather deny it, and indeed have it not from God, nor from his Church, since they are without the Church, and cut off from the Church, out of which there is no true penance or salvation. Item, Thou thyself hast confessed in judgment, that long since thou hast confessed thy sins severally to four of the Valdenses, [quatuor Valdensibus cuilibet singillatim] viz. John Moran, Peter de Cernone, John Brayssan, and Stephen Porcherii, and hast received penance from them, knowing them to be Valdenses, and that they were not Priests ordained by any Bishop of the Roman Church. Item, The foresaid sect and heresy of the Valdenses make a jest of the indulgences which are granted by the Prelates of the Church, asserting that they are not valid. Item, It denies that there is after this life any purgatory for souls, and of consequence that prayers, and alms, and masses, and other vows of piety, which are made by the faithful for the dead, can at all profit them. Item, Detracting from the Prelates of the Church of Rome, they deny and condemn their state, saying, that they are blind, and leaders of the blind, and that they do not preserve the Gospel truth, nor follow the Apostolic poverty. They also obstinately and falsely affirm, that the Church of Rome is the house of a lye. Item, Comparing themselves with the Apostolical life and perfection, and equalling themselves to them in merit, they vainly glory in themselves, boasting that they hold and preserve the evangelick and apostolick poverty. Item, These and other things, as well erroneous as mad, they privately dogmatize to their believers in their Con-



venticles. Item, They preach from the gospels and epistles, and other sacred writings, which by expounding they corrupt, as masters of errors, who know not how to be disciples of the truth, because [whereas—*cum*] the preaching and exposition of the sacred Scriptures is wholly forbidden to the laity. Item, The said Sect of the Valdenses differs and disagrees in several things, in life and manners, from the common conversation of the faithful, as is found and plainly appears by the Inquisition and examination as well of the Valdenses themselves, as their believers, and especially by the confessions of those who are converted by the Inquisitors from that sect and heresy. Moreover, thou John hast judicially before us and elsewhere, oftentimes approved and praised the said sect and heresy of the Valdenses, and dost yet approve and commend it, nor wilt depart from it, nor abjure and forsake it, but rather perseverest in it with an obstinate mind, altho' by us and several other good men thou hast been oftentimes invited to conversion, and hast been canonically admonished and judicially required by us, that in heart and deed thou shouldst turn from it, and with thy mouth and soul wholly abjure it."

For these offences he was, as a relapsed heretic, delivered over to the secular arm, in the usual form, which has been already given.

*No. XXIX. Culpa—Petrus, 169.*

"PETER ANDREW native of Verdunetum near Saisac, living at Castelnaudarry (as lawfully appears to us by his own confession judicially made on the 8th of July, 1307, also on the 13th of June, 1309, also A. D. 1305, the fourth of the Indiction on the 12th of October, before the Penitentiary of our Lord the Pope) saw and received many times into his house Peter Auterius, and James Auterius, of whom he had heard that they were of those who are called heretics; and he gave them to eat and drink

of the provisions of his house, and they were there visited by certain other persons whom he names. Also, in different houses and places which he names, he saw and visited many times the aforesaid heretics; and he heard their words and preaching and doctrines, and he saw many other persons whom he names in his confessions seeing and visiting the said heretics; and he accompanied them sometimes from place to place. Also he adored the said heretics, and received benediction from them many times and so often that he cannot remember the occasions, saying three times 'Benedicite,' with his knees bended, and his head bowed, and he saw them adored in like manner by persons whom he names. Also, he believed in the sect of the heretics. Also, he believed the heretics to be good men and true, and that they had a good life, and good sect, in which they and others believing them might be saved, and he was in that belief two or three years; and after he left it, he went to confess to the Lord Cardinal of Bourges. Also he gave two or three *turonenses grossos* to Martin Franciscus, who was consenting with the heretics. The aforesaid things he committed two years and a half, and one year, before he judicially confessed the aforesaid. The aforesaid Peter took an oath before the Penitentiary of our Lord the Pope, to obey the commands of the Church, and he renounced, and disclaimed, and abjured, all heretical pravity, and was absolved from excommunication by the same.

The aforesaid Peter Andrew (as legally appears to us by his confession judicially made on the 10th of February, A. D. 1311, after he had made other confessions of the fact of heresy, as well before the penitentiary of our Lord the Pope, as afterwards before the Inquisitor of Thoulouse, and had judicially abjured all heresy before the above mentioned Lord Penitentiary) after that he saw many times Petrus Filius de Taravello, whom he knew to be a be-

liever in the heretics, and a fugitive for the fact of heresy ; and he many times was in conversation with him, and received him into his house, and he gave him five silver pieces of Tours (*turonenses argenteos*), and allowed him clothes belonging to the house to sleep upon, which he did. Also with the said Petrus Filius he saw certain others whom he knew to be believers in the heretics. Also he spoke with Guilielmus More of Taravellum about the matter of heretics, hearing them commended, and their life, and sect, and he heard from him that one of them whom he named, Petrus Sancijs de Garda, was in that country ; and of him he said that he was *hereticus vestitus*, and he begged him Peter Andrew that he would do something for the said Petrus Sancijs de Garda, and he answered that he was not able then, but he would willingly do something for him when he was able. Also a certain woman of Verdunetum, who is called Bonassias, asked him if any ‘of those good men’ (by whom he understood ‘of the heretics’) was in that part of the Country ? because a certain person whom he names, had told her that she might know this from the said Peter Andrew,<sup>6</sup> and he answered the said woman, that he had heard say that some of the heretics were in that part of the country. And, some days afterwards, he talked with the said woman, who told him that that man had a certain book concerning the matter of the heretics, and there were two leaves of the said book wanting, and he wished to send it to that heretic that he might make it perfect if

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<sup>6</sup> I have given what I suppose to be the meaning, but it seems as if something had been omitted in the text, which stands thus :—“ Item “quedam mulier de Verduneto que vocatur Bonassias petivit ab eo si “aliquis de illis bonis hominibus per quos intelligebat de hereticis erat “in terra ista qui quidam quem nominat eum quod sciret hoc a dicto “Petro Andree et ipse respondit,” &c.



he knew how, or might get it done by somebody who did know how ; and she replied to him, that she believed that the said heretic did not know how to read or write. And, after some days, the said Peter Andrew told the aforesaid Guilielmus More, and the said Guilielmus More answered, that he would know that from the said heretic, and afterwards he would speak with him Peter Andrew ; and afterwards the said Guilielmus More asked him for the said book, and afterwards the said Peter Andrew had that book from the said woman, and delivered it to the said Guilielmus More, who told him that he would deliver it to the said Petrus Sancier the heretic. Also, afterwards he heard that the said Guilielmus More, and Raymundus de Morovilla had words between them about the said book ; and he heard from the said Raymundus that 'that gentleman,' (*ille Dominus*) by whom he understood Petrus Sancier, was afraid he should be betrayed with that book, and that a certain person (whom he named) might have sent that book in order to know where the said heretic was, and that he might inform against him. And then the said Peter Andrew told the said Raymundus, to tell the said heretic from him, that he need not fear, because such an one (whom he named to him) had sent the said book. Also, he said to the aforesaid woman, when she wished to remove from Verdunetum to Thoulouse, that she should say to that man who delivered the said book to her, that he might trust Guilielmus More in the said matter of the heretics. Also the said Bonassias delivered to him seven, or nine, *albus* of Tours (*turonenses albos*) with the said book, and afterwards told him, that that gentlemen (*ille Dominus*) who sent the said book, sent also the said *Turonenses* to the aforesaid heretic, and then he delivered the value of the said *Turonenses*, to the aforesaid Guilielmus More, for him to deliver that money to the said heretic. Also he knew, and understood,

that Petrus Filius with Petrus Sancius the heretic, had been in the house which he Peter Andrew rented at Thoulouse, where the said Bonassias dwelt; and he heard from the said Petrus Filius, that he had bled himself there; to whom he answered that he pleased himself (*cui respondit quod placebat sibi*). Also the said Peter Filius told him, that year, at the time of vintage, that that gentleman (by whom he understood Petrus Sancius the heretic) was badly clothed; asking him that he would give him *aliquam raubam*,<sup>7</sup> and afterwards he Peter Andrew caused a coat to be made for the said heretic, and delivered it to the said Bonassias, that she should deliver it to Petrus Filius for the said heretic. Also, another time in that year, the said Petrus Filius asked him to do something for the aforesaid Petrus Sancius the heretic; to whom he answered that it was not then in his power, but in the following Lent, he would do something for him; and it was agreed between them, that in the following Lent he would bring the said Petrus Sancius the heretic to Thoulouse, to the house in which he Peter Andrew

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<sup>7</sup> I confess that I know not how to translate these words. *Raub*, as used by writers of the middle ages, might mean that in which persons were *robbed*, or that of which they were *robbed*. The former seems more suited to the matter in hand; yet I doubt whether Peter Sancius was likely to wear a *robe*, or his friend to ask for one for him, and I do not think the word was used laxly for any other article of dress; and Peter Andrew does not seem to have understood it so, for he "*fecit fieri quandam tunicam ad opus dicti heretici*." From the latter sense, of spoil or plunder, (in short, whatever people *raubaverunt* from one another) it came to have a more general meaning, and was sometimes used for stuff of any sort, without any reference to its derivation, and I should think it was probably so used on this occasion. There may, however, have been some common phrase to express the making a gift to a person (letting him as it were share the spoil) of which this may be a literal translation into what was then considered latin.

lived. Also, he heard, and understood, from the said Petrus Filius that he would become a good Christian, if he had the means of living, by which he understood that he would become a heretic; and he promised him, that in whatever condition he might be, he would provide for him for one year. Also, a certain sick person asked him to procure one of the heretics, and he promised that person that he would if he could, and he sent to a certain heretic but he could not have him. Also, in that year on a certain occasion Petrus Filius sent him some pence (*denarii*) to buy fish, to send to him, at the house in which the said Bonassias lived, where he then was, which he did; and he understood and believed, that he wished to have those fish for Petrus Sancius the heretic; and the same day he went thither, and then he understood, and knew that the said Petrus Sancius the heretic, was there in a certain room of the said house which he Peter Andrew rented for the said Bonassias, which Bonassias was his concubine. The aforesaid things he committed two years, and one year, and half a year, and less, persevering in them, before he came to confess judicially the things aforesaid.

For these offences he was delivered to the secular arm.



## SECTION XI.

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### NOTICES OF THE ALBIGENSES AND WAL- DENSES BY HISTORIANS AND OTHER WRITERS.

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**AFTER** what has been already laid before the reader, I feel that such notices of the Albigenses and Waldenses as it is proposed to extract from the works of early historians and other writers, require little or no preface ; and I only feel it necessary to remind him that I do not offer them as the statements of well-informed and unprejudiced persons. I do not call upon him to believe—I only ask him to consider—what they say ; and if he should be led to believe (as I do) that they sometimes made mistakes, and sometimes invented or repeated lies, still let him endeavour to form an impartial judgment of the whole, and consider how far their statements do in fact corroborate those which have been already given.

*Letter of Evervinus to St. Bernard.*

A. D. 1147.

About the year 1147, St. Bernard received a letter from Evervinus, Præpositus of Steinfeld, near Cologne, respecting some heretics who had been recently discovered, and burned, in that city. He gives them no name, except that he says they called themselves apostles; and Bernard seems to imply that they did not assume, and were not known by, any particular appellation.<sup>1</sup> This abbot directed two sermons against the errors of these heretics, which seem to have been evidently suggested by the letter of Evervinus; though, from some expressions, I am led to think that he was not indebted to that letter exclusively for his knowledge of the sect.

The letter has been printed by Mabillon,<sup>2</sup> and as it may throw light on our present subject, I shall give that part which has been translated by Allix<sup>3</sup> in his words. He omits the introduction, and I see nothing in it worth noticing for

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<sup>1</sup> Quære ab illis suæ sectæ auctorem; neminem dabunt.....quo nomine istos titulove censebis? nullo. *Serm. in Cant.* LXVI. vol. i. 1494. He says, indeed, in the same discourse, "se....apostolicos nominant;" but it does not seem clear that they took this title. At all events they were distinct from the sect of the Apostolics.

<sup>2</sup> Op. Bern. Vol. i. c. 1487.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. of Pied. 153.

our purpose, except that Evervinus calls upon Bernard to come forward against "the *new* heretics."<sup>4</sup>

"There have been lately some heretics discovered amongst us, near Cologne, whereof some with satisfaction returned again to the Church: two of these, viz. one that was a Bishop amongst them, and his companions, openly opposed us in the assembly of the clergy and laity, the Lord Archbishop himself being present, with many of the nobility, maintaining their heresy from the words of Christ and the Apostles. But when they saw they could go no further, they desired that a day might be appointed for them, upon which they might bring along with them men skilful in their belief, promising to return to the church, provided they should find their masters defective in answering what was opposed to them; but that otherwise they would rather die than depart from their judgment. Upon this their declaration, after that for three days together they had been admonished, and found unwilling to repent, they were seized by the people, being incited by overmuch zeal, and put into the fire and burnt <sup>6</sup>and (what is most wonderful) they entered to

<sup>4</sup> "Contra novos hereticos, qui circumquaque jam fere per omnes ecclesias ebulliunt deputeo abyssi quasi jam princeps illorum incipiat dissolvi, et instet dies Domini."

<sup>5</sup> Allix has omitted Evervinus's declaration that this was done against his will. His words are, "rapti sunt a populis nimio zelo per-motis, nobis tamen invitis: et in ignem positi, atque cremati." Milner, who refers to Allix for the story, and who seems to have taken his extracts of the letter from Allix's translation, with such verbal alterations as he saw fit to make, follows implicitly on this point. Vol. III. 378. His following the "modern historian," and not the "original record," in this case was the less excusable, because he seems to have had access to it. He tells us, p. 331, "I use the Parisian edition of Mabillon."



the stake, and bare the torment of the fire, not only with patience, but with joy and gladness. In this case, O Holy Father, were I present with you, I should be glad to have your answer, how these members of the Devil could with such courage and constancy persist in their heresy, as is scarcely to be found in the most religious in the faith of Christ.

"Their heresy is this: they say that the Church is only amongst them, because they alone follow the steps of Christ, and continue in the imitation of the true apostolic life, not seeking the things of this world, possessing neither house, lands, nor anything in propriety, according as Christ did, who neither possessed any himself, nor gave leave to his disciples to possess anything. Whereas ye (say they to us) join house to house, and field to field, seeking the things of this world; so that even they also, who are looked upon as most perfect amongst you, such as are your Monks and Regular Canons, though they do not possess these things as proper, but as common, yet do they possess all these things. And of themselves they say, We the poor of Christ, who have no certain abode, fleeing from one city to another, like sheep in the midst of wolves, do endure persecution with the Apostles and Martyrs: notwithstanding that we lead an holy and strict life in fasting and abstinence, persevering day and night in prayers and labours, and seeking only from thence what is necessary to support our lives, we maintain ourselves thereby, because we are not of the world.<sup>6</sup> But as for you lovers of the world, ye have peace with the world, because ye are of

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<sup>6</sup> Rather, "and seeking only from thence what is necessary to support our lives. We undergo this, because we are not of the world; but ye lovers of the world," &c. The words are "tantum necessaria ex eis vitæ quærentes. Nos hoc sustinemus quia de mundo non sumus; vos autem mundi amatores," &c.

the world. False Apostles, who adulterate the word of Christ, seeking their own, have misled you and your forefathers; whereas we and our fathers, being born Apostles, have continued in the grace of Christ, and shall continue so to the end of the world. To distinguish us from one another,<sup>7</sup> Christ saith, 'By their fruits ye shall know them:' our fruits are the footsteps of Christ. In their diet<sup>8</sup> they forbid all manner of milk, and whatsoever is made of it, and all that is procreated by copulation. This is that which they oppose to us concerning their conversation. As to the Sacraments, they conceal themselves; yet did they openly confess to us, that daily at their tables, when they take their meals, they, according to the form of Christ and his Apostles, do consecrate their meat and drink into the body and blood of Christ, by the Lord's Prayer, to nourish themselves therewith, as being the members and body of Christ. But as for us, they say we hold not the truth in the Sacraments, but only a kind of shadow, and tradition of men. They also openly confess, that besides water, they baptized also with fire and the Holy Ghost, and had been so baptized themselves; alleging to this purpose the testimony of St. John the Baptist, baptizing with water, and saying concerning Christ, 'He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire:' and in another place, 'I indeed baptize you with water, but there stands one in the midst of you, whom you know not, who shall baptize you with another baptism besides that of water.' And that this other baptism was to be performed by the imposition of hands, they endeavoured to make out by the testimony of St. Luke, who, in the Acts of the Apostles, describing Paul's baptism, which he received from

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<sup>7</sup> Rather, "between us and you"—"*ad distinguendos nos et vos.*"

<sup>8</sup> See before, p. 255, n. 34.



Ananias, at the command of Christ, makes no mention of water, but only the laying on of hands; and whatsoever else we find, whether in the Acts of the Apostles or in St. Paul's Epistles, they apply to this baptism; and they say that every elect (for so they call all those that are baptized amongst them) hath power to baptize others whom they find worthy, and to consecrate the body and blood of Christ at their meals. For first, by their laying on of hands, they receive some of their auditors into the number of believers, and then they have leave to be present at their prayers, until that, after having had sufficient trial of them, they make them elect. They condemn our baptism, condemn marriage; but the reason why, I could not get out of them, either because they durst not own it, or rather because they knew none.

“ There are also some other heretics in our country, who are altogether different from these, by whose mutual discord and contests they were both of them discovered to us. These deny that the body of Christ is made on the Altar, because all the Priests of the Church are not consecrated. For the apostolical dignity say they, is corrupted, by engaging itself in secular affairs, and the sitting in the chair of Peter; yet because it does not wage God's warfare as Peter did, it has deprived itself of the power of consecrating, which was so great in Peter;<sup>9</sup> and what it has not itself, the Archbishops and Bishops, who live like

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<sup>9</sup> Rather “ For the Apostolic dignity (say they) is corrupted, engaging itself in secular affairs; and, in the chair of Peter, not waging God's warfare, like Peter, it has deprived itself of the power of consecrating, which was given to Peter.” Allix professed to translate from the letter as given by Mabillon, where the passage stands thus:— “ Apostolica enim dignitas (dicunt) corrupta est implicans se negotiis sæcularibus; et in cathedra Petri non militans Deo, sicut Petrus, potestate consecrandi, quæ data fuit Petro, se privavit: et quod,” &c.

men of the world, cannot receive from it, viz. the power of consecrating others : to this purpose alleging these words of Christ, ‘The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses’s chair ; what therefore they bid you do, that do.’ As if such as these had only the power of preaching and commanding, but nothing more. Thus they make void the Priesthood of the Church, and condemn the Sacraments besides Baptism only ; and this only in those who are come to age, who, they say, are baptized by Christ himself, whosoever be the Minister of the Sacraments. They do not believe infant baptism ; alleging that place of the Gospel,<sup>10</sup> ‘Whosoever shall believe, and be baptized, shall be saved.’ All marriage they call fornication, besides that which is between two virgins, male and female ; quoting for this the words of our Saviour, wherewith he answers the Pharisees, ‘What God hath joined let no man separate ;’ as if God did only join such together, as he did our first parents : as likewise those words of our Saviour, which he speaks to the Jews, in answer to what they objected to him about the bill of divorce, ‘From the beginning it was not so ;’ and the following words, ‘Whosoever marrieth her that is divorced, commits adultery ;’ and that of the Apostle, ‘Let marriage be honourable to all, and the bed undefiled.’

“ They put no confidence in the intercession of the Saints ; they maintain that fasting, and other afflictions which are undertaken for sin, are not necessary to the just, nor to sinners ; because at what time soever the sinner repents of his sin, they are all forgiven to him ; and all other things observed in the Church, which have not been

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<sup>10</sup> “ De Baptismo parvulorum fidem non habent, præter illud de Evangelio *Qui crediderit*, &c. So the passage stands—but should we not read *propter* ?



established by Christ himself or his Apostles, they call superstitions. They do not admit of any purgatory fire after death; but that the souls, as soon as they depart out of the bodies, do enter into rest or punishment; proving it from that place of Solomon, 'Which way soever the tree falls whether to the south or to the north, there it lies:' by which means they make void all the prayers and oblations of believers for the deceased.

"We therefore desire you Holy Father, to employ your care and watchfulness against these manifold mischiefs, and that you would be pleased to direct your pen against these wild beasts of the reeds; not thinking it sufficient to answer us, that the tower of David, to which we may take our refuge, is sufficiently fortified with bulwarks, that a thousand bucklers hang on the walls of it, all shields of mighty men. For we desire, Father, that for the sake of us simple ones, and that are slow of understanding, you would be pleased by your study to gather all these arms in one place, that they may be the more ready to be found, and more powerful to resist these monsters. I let you know also, that those of them who have returned to our Church, told us that they had great numbers of their persuasion scattered almost every where: and that amongst them were many of our Clergy and Monks. And as for those who were burnt, they, in the defence they made for themselves, told us, that this their heresy, had been concealed from the time of the Martyrs until these times; and that it had been preserved in Greece, and some other countries. These are those heretics who call themselves Apostles, having a Pope of their own; whereas the other despise our Pope, and yet own themselves to have no other besides him. These Apostles of Satan have amongst them continent women, (as they call them) widows, virgins, their wives, some of which are amongst the number of their elect, others of their believers;

as in imitation of the Apostles, who had power to lead about women with them. Farewell in the Lord."

I need hardly request the reader to observe that these persons, so far from professing to have formed a whole church, "eminent and remarkable" for testifying against the Papacy, stated that their doctrine "had been concealed from the time of the martyrs;" and that it "had been preserved in *Greece*, and other countries."

*Eckbert, Abbot of Schonaugé. A. D. 1160.*

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According to Trithemius,<sup>11</sup> Eckbert was the second abbot of the Benedictine Monastery called Schonaugé, in the diocese of Treves, about the middle of the twelfth century. His work against the Cathari consists of thirteen discourses addressed to Reginold, rector of the Cathedral of Cologne.

In the dedication, he says—

"It often happens in your Diocese, that certain Heretics are apprehended of those who are most notorious for their errors in these days. These are those who are most commonly called Cathari; a race most pernicious to

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<sup>11</sup> Cited, Bib. Pat. Tom iv. P. 11. p. 75. He also states, that Eckbert had previously been a Canon of Bonn, and adds, "claruit in Cænobio præfato S. Florini, quod Schonaugia dicitur, in Diœcesi Treverensi, sub Frederico Imperatore I. anno MCLX."



the Catholic faith, which, going about with great subtilty, they destroy like moths. They are furnished with words of Holy Scripture which seem in a certain way to countenance their sect, and by means of these they know how to defend their own errors, and abuse the Catholic faith. Of the right sense however which is contained in the words, and which is not to be come at without great discretion, they are extremely ignorant. I have therefore thought it worth while to describe their errors, and to set down the authorities of Scripture by which they defend themselves, and to shew their real meaning; and, at the same time, to state those parts of our faith which they oppose, and by the help of God to shew by what authorities of Scripture, and by what arguments, they may be defended, in order that those who read these things, and take pains to remember them, may be somewhat better prepared to dispute with these persons; if, as frequently happens, they shall be detected among the people. For they are very talkative, and are always prepared with what they have to say against us, and it is no small disgrace to us who are learned, that we should be mute and have nothing to say in reply to them. When I was a Canon in the church of Bonn, I and my like-minded friend Bertolphus frequently disputed with such persons, and I paid great attention to their errors and defences. Many things also concerning them became known by means of those who had left their sect, and had been delivered out of the snares of the devil. I have, therefore, by the exhortation of my Abbot, the Lord Hildelinus, put together in this book the more fully both their opinions, and what may be opposed to them; and I have sent it to your Highness (*vestræ celsitudini*) for old friendship's sake; so that if it should happen that such persons are examined before you, your prudence may be assisted by these discourses in stopping the mouths of those who speak wickedly, and in

confirming the unstable minds of persons easily seduced ; who, being deceived by their artful discourses, believe that they walk according to truth. I ask therefore that if you approve of this work, and foresee that it will be useful in any way to the Christian religion, you will cause it to be made public that it may be a stumbling block to that most wicked generation for all time to come."

As the titles and beginnings of the Discourses will give the reader an idea of the errors which were charged upon those whom Eckbert was opposing, it may be sufficient to extract them. Indeed I believe they contain all that throws any light on the subject ; for, in general, having briefly stated the error of the heretics at the beginning of the discourse, he occupies the whole remainder in confuting it.

The *first* discourse, which is introductory, begins thus—

"The Virgin Church hath received one pearl of great price as her dowry from Jesus Christ her spouse, namely, the Catholic faith ; and this, alas ! has in these days many enemies, who attempt its destruction. I believe that those perils of the last times have begun to come upon us, concerning which our Saviour prophesied in the Gospel ; when, speaking to his disciples of the signs which should precede the day of judgment he said, according to St. Matthew, among other things, 'Then if any one shall say, "lo here is Christ" or "lo there" believe it not, for there shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall perform great signs, and wonders, so that if it were possible even the Elect shall be deceived ; behold ! I have foretold you ; if therefore they shall say to you, "Behold ! he is here



in the desert ;” go not forth ; “ Behold he is in the secret chambers,” believe it not.’ And, indeed, if hitherto any one hath come who was so insane as to call himself Christ, we have not heard of it ; but concerning false prophets, who say that Christ is in the secret chambers, we now see much. For, behold, many persons affecting concealment, seduced and seducers, who for a long time have been hidden, and have secretly corrupted the Christian faith in many persons of foolish simplicity, are so multiplied in all lands, that the church of God suffers great danger from the most wicked poison which they pour forth against her on every side. For their discourse eats as doth a canker, and flies far and wide, like an infectious leprosy, contaminating the precious members of Christ. These are called with us in Germany *Cathari*, in Flanders *Piphles*, in France *Texerant*, because they are weavers. As our Lord predicted concerning them, they say that Christ is in the secret chambers ; because they say that the true faith of Christ, and true worship of Christ, exist no where except in their conventicles, which they hold in cellars, in workshops, and such like under-ground places. They say that they lead the life of the Apostles, but they are contrary to the holy faith, and sound doctrine, which has been delivered to us by the holy Apostles, and by the Lord the Saviour himself. For they are the persons of whom St. Paul thus speaks, in his Epistle to Timothy, ‘ Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils, speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving.’ And truly these are they to whom this discourse belongs, since they reprobate and condemn marriage, so that they assign to those who remain until death in a state of marriage, nothing less

than eternal damnation. Some of them, indeed, say that they approve of the marriage of those who are both virgins ; but they say that even these cannot be saved unless they are separated before death, and by this also they forbid such marriage. They who have become *perfect* members of the sect avoid all flesh ; not abstaining from the same reason as monks, and other persons living a religious life do, but they say that the eating of flesh is to be avoided on account of the means by which it is produced, and on account of which they consider it unclean ; and this is the reason which they publicly give : but in secret they say what is worse—namely, that all flesh is made by the devil, and therefore they never taste it even in the greatest extremities. Concerning baptism they speak variously. They say that baptism profits nothing to children who are baptized, for they cannot seek baptism by themselves, because they can make no profession of faith. There is also another thing which they say more generally, but more privately—namely, that no water baptism is profitable to salvation ; for which reason they re-baptize those who enter their sect, in a certain secret manner of their own ; which baptism they say is done in the Holy Ghost and fire.

“ Concerning the souls of the dead they hold, that at the time of their death they pass either to everlasting blessedness, or to eternal damnation, for they do not receive what the universal Church believes—namely, that there are certain purgatorial punishments, in which the souls of some of the elect are for a time tried for their sins, from which they are not fully purified in this life by due satisfaction. On this account therefore they think it vain, and superfluous, to pray for the dead, to give alms, to say masses—and they ridicule the tolling of bells which we make, which is nevertheless done by our Church from pious motives, namely that the living may be admonished to pray for the dead, and be led to consider their own mortality.

“ They altogether despise, and consider as of no value, the masses which are celebrated in the Churches; for if it happens that they go with the rest of their neighbours to hear masses, or even to receive the eucharist, they do this in mere dissimulation lest their infidelity should be discovered. For they say that the order of the Priesthood is altogether lost in the Church of Rome, and in all the Churches of the Catholic faith, and the true Priests are not to be found except in their Sect. They believe that the body and blood of Christ can be by no means made by our consecration, or received by us in our communion; but they say that they alone make the body of Christ at their tables; but in those words there is this deceit—for they do not mean that true body of Christ which we believe to have been born of the Virgin, and to have suffered on the cross, but they call their own flesh the body of the Lord; and forasmuch as they nourish their bodies by the food on their tables, they say that they make the body of the Lord.

“ Nor will I pass over what I heard from a certain faithful man, who, having discovered their infidelity, and some secret wickednesses, left their Society; for he affirmed that they so erred respecting the Lord the Saviour as to say, that he was not truly born of the Virgin, nor had true human flesh, but only an appearance of flesh, and that he did not rise from the dead, but only pretended his death and resurrection. On which account, if they are among Christians who are celebrating Easter, they either conform in a negligent manner, or they seek occasions of being absent from their own home, lest they should be compelled to keep the feast with their neighbours. Instead of this however they celebrate another festival, in which their Heresiarch Manichæus was slain, whose heresy without doubt they follow which St. Augustine, writing against the Manichæans says was called *Beina*. My informant, however,



says that among those with whom he was connected, it was called *Malilosa*, and was celebrated in the Autumn.

“ Beside these things, we have discovered a new, and hitherto unheard of, madness of their's, which some of them when they were examined by the Clergy in the City of Cologne (where by the people full of fervent zeal they were burned) openly confessed—for they said that human souls were no other than those apostate spirits who in the beginning of the world were cast out of the Kingdom of Heaven, and that they might obtain salvation in human bodies, by means of good works; but this only among those who belonged to their Sect.

“ Such things as these they have for a long while privately whispered, going about everywhere to the houses of such persons as were liable to be seduced; and we have heard that these most wicked whisperers do in these times lead captive many unhappy souls in their bonds. They compass, if I may so speak, sea and land that they may make one Catharus, and asperse every other mode of religion by impious detraction, and affirm that no one can be saved unless he joins their sect. It is therefore necessary that all who have zeal for God and their senses exercised in the holy scriptures should watch with all diligence in order to take these most wicked little foxes which destroy the vineyard. Their errors indeed are so many that no one can number them; but I have distinguished and set in order those which appeared to me the most dangerous, because I intend by God's help to write against them in particular.”

Eckbert then proceeds in the rest of this discourse to give an account of the Manichæan heresy.

The *second* discourse is entitled, “ That the Christian doctrine ought not to be hidden,” and

after shewing this from various passages of scripture, he says—

“ You never openly preach your doctrine without which you believe that no one can be saved, though our Lord says, ‘ Him that confesseth me before men I will also confess before my Father which is in Heaven.’ If it happens that any one of you is apprehended for his error, you either altogether deny your faith, or then first confess some of your errors when you have no longer any hope of life. That confession, however, is not to your praise but is like the confession of a thief, who, when he despairs of life, impudently confesses his crimes under the gallows, and the death which some of you sometimes suffer, from a people zealous for the law of God, is not like the martyrdoms of Apostles, but like the executions of thieves and robbers.”

The *third* discourse is “ On the increase, and manifestation, of the Catholic faith ;” and is intended to shew the benefits arising from the open preaching of the faith, as contrasted with the secret practices which he charges on the heretics.

The *fourth* discourse is entitled “ Concerning that which is written, ‘ Faith without works is dead ;’ ” and is intended to shew, that the immorality which the heretics charged upon the priests of the Romish Church, when admitted to the fullest extent, did not destroy the faith of that church, or render it a *dead faith* in such a sense as that it should cease to be true.

The *fifth* discourse is “ Concerning marriage.” Though it is very long it contains little

more than what he had before stated in his introduction, which I have already given, except that he calls those of whom he had before said that they admitted of a certain species of marriage, the followers of Hartwinus.

The *sixth* discourse is "Concerning the eating of flesh;" and is wholly occupied in proving that it is lawful, and refuting their objections, which have been already stated.

The *seventh* discourse is "On the baptism of children;" and is merely a defence of infant baptism.

The *eighth* discourse is "On water-baptism;" and begins thus,

"I am not ignorant however that you hold as great a heresy concerning the baptism of Adults, as that which has now been discussed concerning infant-baptism; for you say, that a man is indeed to be baptized when he comes to years of discretion, not however in water, but in fire; and that the baptism of water is of no use to any body. You defend this error by the words which John spoke with reference to the Lord the Saviour; 'He shall baptize you in the Holy Ghost and fire.' Hence it is that those whom you receive into your Catharist Society (as I have heard from one who had been initiated into your mysteries) you re-baptize in the following manner— assembling yourselves in some obscure chamber, your first care is, lest there should be any window, or door, through which those who are without might see or hear what is going on within. Since it is written he that doeth evil hateth the light, lamps are placed in great numbers in all the walls. The company stand arranged in a



circle, with great reverence, for they are engaged in a holy service, though certainly one more pleasing to the devil than to God. The unhappy person who is to be baptized, or Catharized, is placed in the middle, and the Archicatharus stands by him, holding in his hand a book appointed for this purpose. Placing it upon his head, he utters benedictions (which might more properly be called maledictions) while the rest of the company pray; and they make a child of hell, and not of the kingdom of God, and thus this baptism is performed. It is said moreover to be made in fire, on account of the fire of the lights which burn all around."

The *ninth* discourse is "Against the heresy concerning the souls of the dead;" and consists only of a long defence of Purgatory.

The *tenth* discourse is "Against the heresy with regard to the priesthood," and is occupied in proving the validity of the orders of the Romish Church.

The *eleventh* discourse is "Against the heresy respecting the body and blood of the Lord;" and is, of course, a defence of transubstantiation, which he introduces by saying,

"You lie under an evil report also on this account, that you do not hold that faith concerning the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which the Catholic Church confesses [and, after stating the doctrine of the Church of Rome, he adds] this is our faith; and it is said that you altogether refuse to believe that the body of the Lord can be made by any priest, either good or bad, by any consecration, or that it can be received to be eaten by any man. And this I believe; and that you are now in this error,

since you hold in contempt all the priests of the church, who administer the Sacraments of the Lord, and make no account of any of their services. I remember that I once saw, in the presence of Arnold Archbishop of Cologne, a certain man of no little name, who had returned from the sect of the Cathari to his own church, who when we diligently enquired respecting their heresies, thus answered, ‘ I will make a very brief reply to your enquiries—all that you believe, all that you do, in the church they consider false and nugatory.’ When, therefore, he had said this, the Archbishop thought his answer sufficient; and did not see fit to enquire any further.”

Proceeding then to defend the Popish doctrine of transubstantiation, he says, in the course of his argument,

“ It once happened to me to have a dispute on this subject, in my house at Bonn, with a certain man whom we suspected of belonging to the Cathari; and it happened that we came to speak about evil priests; and he said of them ‘ How can it be, that those who live in a way contrary to reason, should distribute the body of the Lord in the church?’ and I said to him, ‘ Do we not read that Pilate, who crucified the Saviour, and was an infidel, had it in his power to give his body to whomsoever he would, and he gave it to Joseph, who was a just man? The Lord is even now in the same state of endurance, and bears with evil priests, and suffers them to have power in the church, and to distribute his body and blood, as well to the good, as to the evil.’ He immediately replied, ‘ After that time of his passion he himself did not come into their hands;’ and by these words I sufficiently understood his infidelity, which I before suspected—namely, that he did not believe that the body and blood of Christ could be handled by any man, or received in the church; and I said to him with

indignation, ‘Oh! Catharist, now I will plainly confute you;’ and I turned over the Epistles of Paul, which I had at hand, and shewed him that place where, writing to the Corinthians, he says, ‘whosoever shall eat the bread, or drink the cup, of the Lord, unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord; let a man therefore try himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup, for whosoever eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment to himself, not discerning the Lord’s body.’ When I had expounded these words to him, I convicted him by saying, ‘If it is as you say—namely, that from the time when our Lord left this world, his body has not come into the hands of any one, the consequence is, that no one since that time can have eaten his body or drank his blood, either worthily or unworthily, and if it cannot have been taken unworthily by any one, none can thereby have brought judgment on themselves. When, therefore, the Apostle said “he that unworthily receives the body and blood of the Lord eateth and drinketh judgment to himself,” he said that which had no meaning.’ When I said this he was silent, neither denying the infidelity with which I charged him, nor admitting the truth with which I had confuted him.”

Eckbert then goes on to argue upon the text just quoted, applying it to his adversaries generally; and he charges them with receiving the sacrament unworthily at the time of Easter, in order that those whom they procured to defend their orthodoxy might be able to say,

“ ‘What fault have we to find with these men? they are good, and just, and do all that christians ought to do. I wish we were like them.’ From one man who came out of your hiding places I heard this piece of your wis-



dom—your body is the Lord's ; and therefore you make the body of the Lord when you bless your bread, and support your body with it. It is to this that you secretly refer, when, on being asked whether you have a true faith concerning the body of the Lord, you reply that you have a good faith concerning the body of the Lord."

After such arguments against this as the reader may imagine, he says—

"There was a certain man of our time of whom it was reported, that he had imbibed your Catharism, and who, when he was asked just before his death if he wished to receive the body of the Lord, is said to have replied 'If the body of the Lord had been as large as the rock of Erenbertus it would have been long ago consumed, considering how long it is since it began to be eaten.'"

The *twelfth* discourse is "Against the heresy respecting the human nature of the Saviour ;" and he begins it by saying,

"It seems to me that I have been building a house without a foundation ; for those who know you well say, that you deny the humanity of the Saviour. If it be so I have lost my time in disputing with you about the body and blood of the Lord. I can however believe, that the disciples of an insane teacher, may be themselves insane ; for Manes, the leader of your error, taught that our Saviour so far appeared in human nature that he seemed to be, but was not truly, a man ; and that he was not truly born of the Virgin, and did not truly suffer, or die, or rise from the dead," &c.

The rest of the discourse is occupied in refuting these errors.

The *thirteenth* discourse is "Against the heresy concerning human souls;" and it begins thus,

"As to the heresy to which I have before assigned the tenth place, I know not whether it universally prevails in this sect, because in many things they differ among themselves; so that what is asserted by some of them is denied by others; I mean that heresy by which they say that human souls are nothing but those apostate spirits who in the beginning of the world, fell from the kingdom of God; and that these may, in human bodies, come to merit salvation; not however unless they belong to their Sect. This indeed is not to be found among the Manichæan errors; but another, not less insane, respecting souls is to be found; and therefore I am, as I have said, in doubt whether these men generally hold this error or not."

I do not see that these discourses of Eckbert, contain anything else that is to our purpose.

*The History of the Monastery of Vezelai,*  
A. D. 1167.

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This history was written by Hugo Pictavinus, Notary of William Abbot of the Monastery of Vezelai, in Burgundy, who began it by command of the Abbot Pontius, in the year 1156, and finished it in 1167. I have not yet been able to see this work;<sup>12</sup> but the kindness of a

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<sup>12</sup> It is contained in the Second Volume of Dachery's *Spicilegium*.

friend has furnished me with an extract which I shall give at length, among the authorities, translating here only what immediately relates to our subject.

The author tells us that some heretics, such as were called *Telonarii*, or *Poplicani*, were apprehended at Vezelai; and that, being put to the torture, they endeavoured to conceal their heresy by evasion, and subterfuge—that upon this the Abbot ordered them to be separately confined; and for more than sixty days various methods were used to convict or convert them—and that at length, after much fruitless labour, they were convicted by the Archbishops of Lyons, and Narbonne, with the Bishop of Nismes, and many Abbots, and other learned men, of the following heresies:—

“That confessing with their mouths the being of a God, they entirely make void all the Sacraments of the Church—namely, the baptism of children, the Eucharist, the sign of the lifegiving Cross, the sprinkling of holy water, the building of Churches, the payment of tithes and oblations, marriage, monastic institutions, and all the duties of Priests and Ecclesiastics. And when Easter drew on, two of them, having heard that they were shortly to be destroyed by the judgment of fire, pretended that they believed what the Catholic Church believes, and that to be reconciled to the Church they would give satisfaction by the trial of water. In the procession, therefore, of the Easter solemnity, they were brought forth in the midst of a great multitude, which filled the whole court [of the Monastery] in the presence of Guichard Bishop of Lyons,



Bernard Bishop of Nismes, and Master Walter Bishop of Laon, with William Abbot of Vezelai. Being enquired of as to the several articles of faith, they said, that they believed as the Catholic Church believes. Being asked respecting the execrable mystery (*de execrabili sacramento*) of their heresy, they said that they knew nothing except what has been already stated respecting a disbelief of the Sacraments of the Church. Being asked whether they would give proof that they believed as they had professed, and had no further knowledge of the secrets of their heresy, by the trial of water, they freely, and without its being imposed upon them, answered that they would. Then all the assembly with one voice exclaimed ‘Thank God!’ and the Abbot answering said to all who were present ‘What then my Brethren does it appear to you that we ought to do with those who persevere in their obstinacy? They all answered ‘Let them be burnt! Let them be burnt!’

It is not to our purpose to pursue the story; but the reader who turns to the authorities will see that one of those, who submitted to the trial by water, was acquitted; and that the other, after having twice undergone that ordeal, narrowly escaped being burned, with the seven who remained obdurate.

*Guilielmus Neubrigensis.* A. D. 1197.

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The account which this writer has given of the Publicans, who were condemned at the Council of Oxford, in 1160, has been already

referred to, at pages 90 and 138. With the short statement of John Brompton (who appears merely to have abridged from William of Newbury) and a still shorter notice by Radulphus de Diceto, it forms, I believe, the only account which we have of the matter. I shall give all that I can find on the subject in these writers among the authorities; and here only translate what immediately refers to the point in question—namely, the *opinions* which are said to have been held by these alleged heretics. I must first, however, remark upon the way in which they have been misrepresented by some modern historians. Henry, in his history of England, says—

“ A company of about thirty men and women, who spoke the German language, appeared in England at this time, and soon attracted the attention of government by the singularity of their religious practices and opinions. It is indeed very difficult to discover with certainty what their opinions were, because they are recorded only by our monkish historians, who speak of them with much asperity. They were apprehended and brought before a Council of the Clergy at Oxford. Being interrogated about their religion, their teacher, named Gerard, a man of learning, answered, in their name, that they were christians, and believed the doctrines of the Apostles. Upon a more particular enquiry *it was found*, that they denied several of the received doctrines of the Church, as *purgatory, prayers for the dead, and the invocation of Saints*; and, refusing to abandon *those damnable heresies, as they were called*, they were condemned as incorrigible heretics, and delivered to the secular arm to be punished. The King,

at the instigation of the clergy, commanded them to be branded with a red hot iron on the forehead, to be whipped through the streets of Oxford, and having their clothes cut short by their girdles, to be turned out into the open fields, all persons being forbidden to afford them any shelter or relief under the severest penalties. This cruel sentence was executed in its utmost rigour; and it being the depth of winter, all these unhappy persons perished with cold and hunger." Book III. ch. II. §. 3.

Milner, who seems to have followed the "modern historian" implicitly, without troubling himself about the "original records," which were referred to, relates the story in much the same way;<sup>13</sup> and then adds—

"They had made one female convert in England, who, through fear of similar punishment, recanted. The whole number of the Germans remained, however, patient, serene, and composed, repeating, 'Blessed are those, who are persecuted for righteousness' sake; for their's is the Kingdom of Heaven.' Their teacher Gerard, that he might be distinguished from the rest, had an additional stigma on his chin.

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<sup>13</sup> Vol. III. p. 424. I have not the edition of Henry's History, to which Milner refers; but, in the fourth edition (8vo. 1805.) the authorities stand thus, "W. Neubrig. l. 2. c. 13. Item, p. 631. J. Brompt. col. 1050;" the latter reference being to the column of the *Decem Scriptores*, edited by Twysden. Milner's reference is, "Neubrig. Brompt. Collect. See Henry's Hist. of Eng. Vol. III. p. 240." For the particulars mentioned by him, which are not contained in Henry's History, I suppose that Milner was indebted to Mr. Berington.

“ What a darkness must at that time have filled this island! A wise and sagacious King, a renowned university, the whole body of the clergy and laity, all united in *expelling Christ from their coasts!* Brief as is the account of the Martyrs, it is *sufficiently evident that they were the martyrs of Christ.* Driven most probably from home by the rage of persecution, they had brought the *light and power of the Gospel* with them into England; and so totally senseless and corrupt was our nation, that none received it.”

Let me say, that I heartily detest, and abhor the cruelty with which these persons were treated; and, that if I had been one of the Bishops who examined them (or what makes the story better, “ a renowned university,” and “ the whole body of the clergy and laity,”) I hope I should have been so far from recommending, or sanctioning, such barbarity, that I should willingly have risked my own life to prevent it—but supposing that these persons denied “ purgatory, prayers for the dead, and the invocation of saints,” and that they “ remained patient, serene, and composed,” when threatened with punishment, are we at once to conclude that they had brought with them, “ the light and power of the gospel?”—that “ they were the martyrs of Christ?”—and that to drive them away, was “ expelling Christ?” Speaking of Jovinian (and censuring Mosheim for the fault of his translator) Milner says, “ before I dare “ call him ‘ a worthy opposer of the reigning “ superstitions’ I ~~must~~<sup>ought to</sup> know his motives. He



“ might be influenced by the pure love of God,  
 “ the faith of Jesus, and unfeigned humility. He  
 “ might be moved by a spirit merely prudential,  
 “ worldly, or even profane. For true christians  
 “ and deists will unite in opposing superstition,  
 “ from motives very opposite. We are, indeed,  
 “ always strongly inclined to think well of those  
 “ persons in past ages, who happened to favour  
 “ our peculiar sentiments or prejudices ; and, on  
 “ the contrary, we are apt to judge harshly of  
 “ those who thought in a different manner.  
 “ Does this propensity account for Mosheim’s  
 “ hasty approbation of the character of Jovi-  
 “ nian ? Whether it does or not in this in-  
 “ stance, I cannot but observe, that this sort of  
 “ mental imbecillity forms one of the most capital  
 “ defects of that ecclesiastical historian : As to  
 “ myself, I can only say, I endeavour to guard  
 “ against it.”<sup>14</sup> How far this endeavour was

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<sup>14</sup> See Milner, Vol. II. p. 477. The pompous mar-  
 ginal announcement, “ Mosheim censured,” is very ridi-  
 culous, and only exposes the prejudice of the writer ;  
 who really seems to have tried to say what he could  
 against Jovinian, because, from carelessly reading the  
 translation, he was led to suppose that Mosheim had  
 spoken too well of him. “ I admire,” he says, “ the  
 “ *positiveness* of Mosheim, in deciding so *peremptorily* for  
 “ the character of a man, of whose writings nothing has  
 “ come down to us, but a single sentence so barbarous and  
 “ doubtful.” Now, what had Mosheim so positively, and

successful, let the reader of Milner's History judge. In the present case, all that he supposed himself to know of these people was, that they denied the doctrines of purgatory, prayers for the dead, and the invocation of the saints, and that they were "patient, serene and composed," (which latter is, as far as I know, an addition of his own) and on this he built his judgment.

But what evidence have we, that these per-

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peremptorily, said? I really think that a reader of Milner would be more likely to form a favourable opinion of Jovinian, than a reader of Mosheim. The former writer, indeed, states the matter as doubtful, but finds "that which strongly inclines him to hope" that the real character of Jovinian was good; the latter is so far from positively, and peremptorily, deciding in his favour, that he expresses suspicion, but gives no opinion at all; and Milner should have known, before he "censured" Mosheim, that the "*worthy* opposer" and the "*judicious* opinions," and "*judicious* reasonings," of Jovinian, were merely flourishes of the translator, who was wont thus to embellish his author, though sometimes at the expence of fidelity and truth. Mosheim, speaking of Aërius, says, "*Videtur vir hic religionem ad priscam simplicitatem revocare voluisse: quod consilium in se spectatum pulchrum est, tametsi in causis et agendi ratione forte quædam reprehendi possint. Plures hujus generis homines hac ætate erant, qui, progressum superstitionum et errorum de vera religionis natura moleste ferentes, ei sese objiciebant, sed laboris hunc unum fructum capiebant, ut infamia notarentur. Eminent inter eos Jovinianus, monachus Italus,*" *Sæc. IV. P. II. Cap. iii. §. 22. p. 173.*



sons said anything about *purgatory*, or *prayers for the dead*, or the *invocation of saints*?<sup>15</sup> If, indeed, they were Publicans, we may suppose that they rejected these doctrines; but was this *all*? Was it for "*those damnable heresies*" only, that they were condemned? Except from a general statement that they were examined respecting the articles of the holy faith in order, it does not appear that they were asked one

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<sup>15</sup> The only colour (it is no authority) for Henry's statement, is a note of Picard's, in Hearne's edition of William of Newbury, which Henry refers to by "Item, p. 631." Picard quotes a MS. of Ralph of Coggeshall, in which he speaks of the persecution of the Publicans generally; and, among others, of these. He afterwards (but with no special reference to them) details the doctrines of the Sect. His statement (which will be found among the authorities) agrees generally with those already given respecting Manichean doctrine. From it the points in question may certainly be picked out; but there is no pretence for asserting, that these persons were condemned, or even examined on these points; or for suppressing William of Newbury's statement of the more heterodox points on which he says that they were condemned. Having occasion to mention Ralph of Coggeshall (who flourished about 1228) I may add his testimony respecting the "high antiquity" of the Publicans in France. He was not one of those "best informed Romanists who pretended not to affix any certain date;" for he says briefly, but expressly, in his Chronicle, under the year MCLXXIV, "*Oritur hæresis pernicioſa Publicanorum in Francia.*" *Martene, Vet. Scrip. Mon. Tom V. col. 810.*

question, or said one word, *on those points*. Their leader, indeed, said that "they revered the apostolic doctrine;" but this with the following statement of William of Newbury, to whom Henry refers, is all that I can find respecting their opinions—

"Being interrogated concerning the articles of the Holy Faith in order, they answered, indeed, what was right respecting the nature (*de substantia*) of the Heavenly Physician; but as to his remedies whereby he condescends to heal man's infirmity, that is, the divine Sacraments, they said that which was erroneous; detesting the HOLY BAPTISM, the EUCHARIST, MARRIAGE, and impiously endeavouring to impair the catholic unity, which is supported by those divine aids. When they were urged with divine testimonies taken from the holy Scriptures, they answered that they believed what they had been taught, and would not dispute about their faith."

Whether this was "the light and power of the gospel," or the Paulician heresy, let the reader judge—whichever way he may decide, I think he must admit, that the account of it was unfairly suppressed.

*Bernard Abbot of Fontcaud.* A. D. 1200.

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The precise time when Bernard's work was written cannot, perhaps, be ascertained; but as Dupin places him at the end of the 12th century, I have assigned him at the date of 1200. He wrote a tract against the Waldenses, which he begins by saying—



“ While the Lord Lucius, of famous memory, presided over the holy Roman Church, suddenly *new heretics* raised their heads, who, choosing the word with a sort of presage of the future, were called *Valdenses*—namely, from *Valle densa*, because they are involved in the deep and thick darkness of errors. These, although condemned by the before-mentioned Pope, by their bold proceedings spread the poison of their infidelity far and wide through the world. On account of these things the Lord Bernard Archbishop of Narbonne, a man remarkable for his religion, and godly sincerity, being jealous for the law of God, set himself as a strong wall for the church of God. Having therefore convoked many both of the clergy and laity, as well regular as secular, he called them to trial and (to make short of the matter) the cause being most diligently investigated, they were condemned. Nevertheless, even after this they dared both publicly and privately, to sow the seeds of their wickedness. Wherefore they were again, though it was more than was necessary, called upon to dispute by some as well of the clergy as of the laity; and that the controversy might not be protracted, a certain priest, Raymond of Deventer was elected judge by both parties—a religious man, and one that feared God; of noble birth, and more ennobled by his conduct. On the day appointed, therefore, the parties having met together, with a great many others of the clergy and laity, they were accused by the true Catholics as to certain points, on which they held erroneous opinions; and, they replying to each, the matter was long disputed on both sides, and many authorities were produced by each party. Having heard, therefore, the allegations of the parties, the aforesaid judge gave his definitive sentence in writing, and pronounced them to be heretics as to those points concerning which they had been accused.

“ The authorities and arguments by which they de-

fended their side of the question, and the answer of us Catholics, and the passages of scripture by which we ought to maintain the Catholic faith, we have put together in this little work; adding also some other tracts against other heresies. All this we have done chiefly for the instruction, and admonition, of certain of the clergy; who being deficient either in knowledge, or in books, by not resisting the enemies of the truth, become a stumbling block, and an offence, to the faithful who are committed to their charge."

The work is divided into twelve chapters under the following titles :

Ch. I. "Against those who say, that we ought not to obey the Pope, or other Prelates."

Ch. II. "Treats of the dignity of Prelates; and that we ought to defer to, and obey them."

Ch. III. "On those who slander spiritual rulers."

Ch. IV. "Against this—that all, even laymen, should preach; and what they may say on this point, and what we may reply to them."

Ch. V. "That it is not lawful for them to minister the word of God to the faithful."<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> He begins this chapter by saying, "And since the question is respecting laymen—whether they may disseminate the word of God among the people—we must make a distinction, as to whether they are Catholics or not. For if they are Catholics, of approved life and conversation—if their discourse is seasoned with the salt of wisdom—if they know how to dispense the word according to their several capacities—and if they are set over any particular



Ch. VI. "Contains a reply to the objection  
 " which they urge in the words of the apostle,  
 " ' that we ought to obey God, and not men ;'  
 " and some other things.

Ch. VII. " States who are, and who are not,  
 the persons whom they chiefly mislead."<sup>17</sup>

Ch. VIII. " Against this—that they say that  
 women may preach."

Ch. IX. " Against this—that they say that  
 " the alms, fastings, masses, and other prayers of  
 " the living, do not profit the faithful dead."

" place or are under authority of a true catholic—according  
 " to their proficiency in knowledge, or ability for the work,  
 " under the direction of the Bishop, or of the priests, in  
 " whose district they may be, I think they may do it—at  
 " least if they are not tied to wives, or oppressed with the  
 " burden of worldly cares. To be sure, if their life is repre-  
 " hensible, there is no need to listen to them. As to what  
 " our Lord says, ' What they say unto you do,' it is only  
 " said of those who sit in Moses' chair—that is, the rulers,  
 " and teachers of the divine law, whom God has set over  
 " his people; ' but unto the wicked God saith, " what hast  
 " thou to do to declare my statutes, or that thou shouldest  
 " take my Covenant in thy mouth." Ps. l. 16."

<sup>17</sup> He says, " they first mislead women, and then  
 " through them, men; as the Devil first deceived Eve, and  
 " through her, Adam." It seems however but just to the  
 female sex, to remind the reader, that of the 638 indivi-  
 duals mentioned in the Book of Sentences, 373 were men,  
 and 265 women; and that those delivered to the secular  
 arm the women formed only one fifth.

Ch. x. "Against those who deny the purgatory fire, and say that spirits, when released from the flesh, go immediately to heaven, or hell."

Ch. xi. "Against those who say, that the same spirits of the dead do not enter either heaven, or hell, before the judgment; but are contained in some other receptacles."

Ch. xii. "Against those who refuse to pray in a church, and affirm that it ought not to be called a church—wherein is proved, that it ought to be called a church, and that we ought to pray therein, and to hold it in great veneration—where is also an answer to a certain objection made by the same heretics, in the words of St. Stephen, 'that the Most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands,' and therefore not in the church."

I have given the titles of all the chapters of this work, because I think they will convince the reader that it was not directed against persons charged with Manichean heresy, or such errors as we have seen repeatedly imputed to the Albigenses. There is nothing about the rejection of baptism, or marriage,—nothing about imposition of hands, consolation, heretication, &c.—nothing about abstinence from flesh—or, in short, about any of the peculiar doctrines which are classed by Limborch as being ascribed to the Albigenses, and never to the Waldenses,



in the Book of Sentences. I will not, however, suppress one expression which seems to form an exception to this; and which, if it had been found in an Albigensian sentence, might have been fairly considered as a charge of Manichæan error. In the XII. Chapter, arguing against those who spoke irreverently of churches, he says, "they follow and imitate Antichrist; who, as it is said in the Apocalypse, 'opened his mouth in blasphemies, to blaspheme His name, and His tabernacle, and those who dwell in heaven.'" Applying this, he says, "They blaspheme the tabernacle of God, when they say, that it is better to pray in chambers, and stables, than in the house of God; they blaspheme the name of God, while they say that he did not create, and does not govern the world; and they blaspheme those who dwell in heaven, when they say that the Apostles, and Martyrs, and the inhabitants of heaven, can give no help to faithful suppliants." The statement, that they said that God did not create, and does not govern the world, is one which I really do not understand, when taken in connexion with the whole work; in which, as far as I know, there is no other allusion to any such opinion, and in which, if he really supposed them to hold a doctrine so monstrous, we might have expected that it would have been formally stated and refuted.

*Ermengardus.* A. D. 1200.

This tract of Ermengardus was published by Gretser, at the same time as the preceding work of Abbot Bernard, under the title of "*Ermengardus contra Waldensium Sectam*;"<sup>18</sup> and I assign its date on the same grounds as I did that of Bernard. The work, however, is of a very different character. The Waldenses are, I believe, never named, or even alluded to, except in this title, which was most probably added by a later hand—indeed, I think that from a very slight notice of the tract, the reader will perceive that it was pointed at those persons whom the Book of Sentences calls "heretics," and that it is as truly *Albigensian*, as the preceding tract was *Waldensian*. When I say this, however, the reader will not understand me as affirming that either author (or any other of whom I may speak in similar terms) fully understood the tenets or rites of the sects which he opposed, or said of it only that which was true; but, merely, that he meant to oppose this, or that sect, and not the other, and did himself suppose that he was doing so. Of this, the reader may judge from the titles and beginnings of the chapters, which I transcribe; and which contain nearly

<sup>18</sup> It is reprinted Bib. Pat. Tom. IV. P. I. col. 1235.

all that can throw any light on the opinions of the heretics, as it was Ermengardus' method to commence each chapter with a statement of the doctrine which he meant to impugn, and then to occupy all the rest of the chapter in its refutation. He begins his work thus,

“ May the grace of the Holy Spirit  
be with us.

“ Here begins the work of Ermengaudus, against the heretics who say and believe that this world, and all visible things, were not created by God but by the Devil.

Chap. I. “ *That God is the Creator of all things.*

“ The heretics say and believe that this world, and all things which are seen in it—namely, the heaven which we see, and the sun, and moon, and stars—and the earth, and all animals, and men, and whatever is seen in it—the sea, and fishes, and all that is seen in it—they say in their secret doctrine (*in absconditis suis*) were not made by Almighty God, but by the Prince of evil spirits. To which heretics, and this their malignant error, many authorities of the New Testament are opposed,” &c.

Ch. II. “ *That there are not two Gods.*

“ This which the heretics say—that there are two Gods, one omnipotent, the other malign—they hold in contradiction of all Holy Writ,” &c.

Ch. III. “ *That the Law of Moses was truly given by God.*

“ The heretics say that the Law of Moses, which we call ‘the Old,’ was not given by Almighty God, but by the Prince of evil spirits; which error is contradicted by many authorities of Holy Scripture,” &c.

Ch. IV. “ *That Moses was not a Magician.*

“ Also, there are *some* heretics who assert that Moses



was a magician ; and that Almighty God did not speak to him, nor give him the law ; against whom," &c.

Ch. v. "*That marriage is lawful.*"

"The heretics, following Tatian the heretic, who condemned all marriage of male and female uniting together, say that they can by no means be saved," &c.

Ch. vi. "*That the conception, and nativity, of John the Baptist, were announced by a good Angel.*"

"Also, that John the Baptist was announced not by a good, but by a dæmoniacal angel—and they believe that he was not a good man," &c.

Ch. vii. "*Of the Incarnation, Nativity, Passion, Death, and Resurrection of Christ—and whether he really ate and drank.*"

"Concerning the Incarnation of Christ, there are some heretics among those who follow the 'Condomanum hæresim,' who say that 'Christ was not born of a woman, nor had true flesh, nor was truly dead, nor suffered anything, but pretended to suffer ; nor do they believe that he ate, or drank, and that he had as it were a phantastic body, and that he did not rise from the dead,'"  
&c.

Ch. viii. "*Of Churches made with hands.*"

[This is merely an argument for their lawfulness and use, in which he does not state the objections urged by the heretics.]

Ch. ix. "*Of Altars.*"

"But since all the heretics set at nought the Church made with hands, and the altars therein, and the Sacraments which the ministers of God minister in them, and all the ornaments of the Church, and despise them, and say that they profit nothing to the salvation of souls," &c.

Ch. x. "*Of the singing in the Church.*"

"Also the heretics find fault with the singing in the

Church, and the praises which the ministers render to God, out of the Old and New Testament," &c.

Ch. XI. "*Of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.*"

[This Chapter, which is a long defence of Transubstantiation, does not begin with any statement of the doctrine of the heretics—and I only find what follows—after quoting the words "*hoc est corpus*, &c. he says]

"But the heretics say that this *hoc*, the demonstrative pronoun, does not refer to the bread, which he held in his hands, and which he blessed, and brake, and distributed to his disciples; but refers to his body, which was performing all these things. Hence their most abominable error arose; they being ignorant of the force of this pronoun," &c. [and afterwards] "But there are some heretics who believe that by hearing the word of God, they eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood," &c.

Ch. XII. "*Of Baptism.*"

"For some of the heretics say that this sacrament of Water-baptism, without their imposition of hands, does not profit those who receive it, whether children or adults, as to their obtaining eternal salvation". . . . . "the heretics also say that it cannot profit any one, unless with his own mouth and his own heart, he desires that Sacrament; thereby bringing in this error—that the baptism of infants is unprofitable". . . . . "also you say, O heretic! that a sinner cannot baptize—how then did the Apostles baptize," &c. . . . . "also you say that by the ministry of the priest the Holy Spirit is not given which you falsely assert that you give."

Ch. XIII. "*On the Sacrament of Penance.*"

[This is merely a defence of the Romish doctrine of penance, which throws but little light on the objections

raised against it. The only sentence worth extracting is, perhaps, the following]

“ But you say that a person may be saved without confession, and you bring forward that passage, ‘ At what time soever a sinner shall repent, he shall be saved.’ To which it may be answered that the true invisible priest, namely God, saves him who wishes to confess, though he may not be able to do it, from the suffering of eternal punishment; but while he is able, he does not absolve him unless he confesses with his mouth.”

Ch. XIV. “ *Of the imposition of hands.*”

“ Having treated of Penance, the imposition of hands comes next, which they call *Consolamentum*; which imposition of hands they take upon them to practice among themselves, contrary to the precepts of our Lord, and the institutions of the Apostles. First we shall state, how, and by whom it is performed, and the opinion which they hold concerning it. The manner of the *consolamentum* is this—He who is called *Præpositus*, or Bishop, or Deacon, is named Rector of the other heretics who are subject to him; and when they wish to perform the *consolamentum* to any man, or woman, he who is called *Major*, or *Ordinatus*, having washed his hands, and holding the Book of the Gospels in them, admonishes him, or them, who may come to receive the *consolamentum*, to put all their trust in that *consolamentum*, and place the hope of the salvation of their souls in God, and in that *consolamentum*. And the book being placed upon their heads, they say the Lord’s Prayer seven times, and then he repeats to the hearers the Gospel of St. John from ‘ In the beginning’ to that place of the Gospel where it is said ‘ Grace and truth came by Jesus Christ;’ and thus the *consolamentum* is finished.

“ Let us mention the persons by whom it is performed—namely, by those who among them are called *Ordinati*; or if they are wanting by those who are called *Consolati*;



and, if men are not present, women perform it, at least to the sick. ]

“ Let us state their opinion of it—for in it generally they all have their faith and hope of salvation, and that they obtain in it the remission of all their sins, and the purification of all their offences, without any satisfaction, if they should immediately die. And they believe that in it, God grants them pardon, not only for venial sins which they may have committed, but also for crimes of which they may have been guilty. They say also that no one, great or small, man or woman, can attain to the kingdom of heaven, and the society of angels, by any work or well-doing or contemplation of religion (*aliquo opere, vel beneficio, vel contemplatione religionis*), nor even by martyrdom, though (what is impossible) he should abstain from all sin and offence, unless he shall have received that *consolamentum* from the *consolati*.

“ They believe also this—that if he who performs the *consolamentum* falls into any sin such as they term *criminal* (in *aliquo peccatorum quæ ipsi criminalia vocant*), as eating flesh, or an egg, or cheese—or killing a bird, or any kind of animal, except such as creep—or even those sins which the Romish Church calls criminal (as homicide, false-witness, perjury, rapine), his *consolamentum* does not profit those who receive it. For they say, that one who has thus fallen has not the Holy Spirit; and they believe, that what he has not, he cannot give to another. They even believe it to be proper that such an one should again receive the *consolamentum*<sup>19</sup> from another, if he would be saved; and this, universally of all, as well men as women, that they must do as is here stated.”

[I do not find anything else in this chapter which

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<sup>19</sup> See the case of Amelius, near the bottom of page 315.

throws light on the extraordinary practice which it is written to condemn; but it may be observed that the author professes his own inability to discover whence the heretics derived it—after stating that their *consolamentum* differed from the imposition of hands practised by the apostles, inasmuch as it was given indiscriminately to all persons, great and small, men and women, and concluding from thence, that they had not received the rite from the Apostles, he adds, that it is a matter much to be wondered at (*valde assidue mirandum est*), from whom this custom of the *consolamentum* had its origin.]

Ch. xv. "*On eating meat; and some other things.*"

"It is the faith of all the heretics, that no one who after receiving the *consolamentum* eats meat, or cheese, or eggs, can be saved, unless he receives penance from them and is *re-consolated*."<sup>20</sup>

Ch. xvi. "*On the Resurrection of the dead.*"

"Having spoken of the eating of meat, let us speak concerning the resurrection of the dead; for the heretics, imitating the error of the Sadducees, destroy [the doctrine] of the resurrection of dead men."....."but here the heretics object that flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God," &c.

Ch. xvii. "*On the Invocation of Saints and Prayers for the dead.*"

"Against the perverse opinions of some heretics, who assert that the Saints and their prayers are of no avail for those who are still in the service of Christ in this world; and that the dead are not assisted by the benefactions and prayers of the living, we defend our faith," &c.....  
"moreover there are those who say that no man can be saved who does not repent, except in the article of death,

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<sup>20</sup> See before, p. 346. n. 8.

and that we are not to pray for him. But let them hear what our Lord said to the thief, who repented in his last moments, and was unable to make satisfaction, 'To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.' Also, 'At what time soever a sinner shall repent he shall be saved.' But you say that you can cause a sinner to be saved without repentance, and satisfaction; wherein it is to be observed, that you endeavour to detract from the divine power; since the Lord says, by the Prophet, 'I am he that blotteth out the iniquities, and sins of the people;' but God does not blot out the sin of this sinner whom you affirm that you save, because he does not repent. Take care therefore that in future you do not presume to say anything so detestable."

Ch. XVIII. "*Of Oaths.*"

[This chapter merely defends the lawfulness of oaths, and states no other objections than those founded on the words of our Lord, Matt. v. 34. "I say unto you swear not at all," &c.]

Ch. XIX. "*On the putting of men to death.*"

[So I presume, we should translate "*de occisione hominis*," supposing the question to be respecting the lawfulness of capital punishment—it may however be of homicide—but the manuscript is imperfect, and the few words which remain of the chapter give no explanation]

*Ebrardus.* A. D. 1212.

This writer has been already mentioned, p. 98; and I have stated that his date is uncertain; as, however, after what has been said it is of no consequence where he is placed, I have retained the date which some have (I think erro-



neously) assigned to him. His book as printed by Gretser, (at least as reprinted from his edition in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*<sup>21</sup>) is entitled "*Contra Waldenses*," and in the beginning of his second chapter he mentions that sect by name—yet I think the reader will see reason to believe (as I have already stated) that by *Waldenses* he meant *Albigenses*, and that he was not very well acquainted with either sect.

The titles of his chapters are as follow :—

Ch. I. "That the law is not to be rejected, and that many were saved under the law."

Ch. II. "That the Prophets and Patriarchs were worthy of salvation, and were saved." In this chapter he says,

"The *Waldenses* consign to damnation the Prophets and the Patriarchs, and all who died before the Passion ; whereas it is written, 'Touch not mine anointed and do my prophets no harm.' For this they pretend to have the authority of our Lord, who says, 'All that ever came before me were thieves and robbers' (*quotquot venerunt ante me, fures fuerunt et latrones*). They misunderstand that *ante* ; for who was ever *before*, that is *prior to*, him, when he was in the beginning, and before all things ? of whom it is said 'the first born of every creature,' and what creature, then, was there before him ? None whatever. Let us then read, as is better, and say as we ought to do, *ante eum*, that is *contra eum*. For he who comes *against* him, enters not into the sheepfold by the door, and is

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<sup>21</sup> Tom. iv. Col. 1074.

therefore a thief and a robber. For *ἀντὶ* in Greek is the same as *contra* in Latin."

I give this passage, partly because it imputes an opinion to the Waldenses, and partly that the reader may form a judgment of the author, particularly with reference to the points already stated, p. 98, &c.

Ch. III. "That he who gave the Law to Moses was the true, and Almighty, God."

Ch. IV. "That a building of stone ought to be called a church; and of the ecclesiastical tonsure."

Ch. V. "That Almighty God created all things visible, and invisible."

Ch. VI. "That children, even before they can speak, ought to be baptized."

Ch. VII. "That marriage is lawful; and appointed by God."

Ch. VIII. "Of the Host; that it is the very body of the Lord."

Ch. IX. "That we shall rise in our own flesh, and not in any other."

Ch. X. "That offerings ought to be made to the priests, and in the church."

Ch. XI. "That the anointing with oil is good, and profitable to the sick."

Ch. XII. "That the making of pilgrimages is good, and of divine appointment."

Ch. XIII. "That John the Baptist was a good man, (*bene meruit*) and is saved."

Ch. XIV. "That it is lawful to swear, and to affirm the truth by an oath."

Ch. XV. "That we ought to punish malefactors, and even to put them to death."

Ch. XVI. "That faith is of more avail than works; and that faith is to be sought after in the first place."

Ebrardus begins this chapter by saying—

"Neglecting also the christian faith, they cause themselves to be called disciples of Christ, while they are rather disciples of Anti-christ—for confiding entirely in works, they pass over faith; whereas faith should rather be placed before works. For in turning over the pages of Holy Writ, I have not found that works without faith are of any value; but I have frequently observed, that faith without works did avail."<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> "Fidem quoque negligentes Christianam, Christi discipulos se faciunt appellari, cum sint potius Anti-christi. In operibus enim solummodo confidentes, fidem prætermittunt, cum fides operibus potius sit præponenda. Revolvens etenim paginas scripturarum, opera præter fidem valere non reperi. Fidem vero, præter opera, valere multotiens annotavi." In fact, Ebrard so strongly maintains the doctrine of justification by faith, that Gretser felt it necessary to give a preface, and notes, to this chapter. He says, "Cave autem existimes, Ebrardum celebrare et decantare solam seu solitariam illam fidem. Hæreticorum nostri temporis, cui soli et unicæ justifica-



Ch. XVII. "That the cross of the Lord is to be venerated; and the wood of the cross to be venerated."

Ch. XVIII. "That women will be saved in the female sex." He charges the heretics with maintaining, that the sex of women will be changed at the resurrection; and with grounding the error on a misunderstanding of two texts of scripture. First, that in which our Lord says, "Come, ye blessed of my Father"—where "*Venite benedicti dixit, non benedictæ*;" and secondly, where St. Paul says "'Till we all come, in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect *man*, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." Eph. iv. 13. "From this," says he, "they affirm that we shall come to judgment as at the age of thirty, and that women will change their sex."

I beg the reader's pardon for quoting such nonsense; but as Ebrard has been cited as an authority, and I have spoken somewhat disrespectfully of him in a former section, I feel it necessary to give some account of his book,

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"tionem et salutem æternam adscribunt," &c. This chapter was evidently not much to the purpose of Ebrard's argument against the Waldenses; and therefore it is not to our present purpose; but it would have been quite in place in Milner's History.

which I should otherwise have passed over, as one from which little or no information is to be obtained.

Ch. XIX. "That there ought to be various Orders, and various states of religion." This seems to be the meaning of the title, which is "*Quod varii sint Ordines; et variæ religiones salutis*," for in the chapter he goes on to shew, that the church consists of three orders, distinguished by marriage, continence, and virginity.

Ch. XX. "That they ought not to pride themselves on their fasting; and that it is lawful to eat meats."

Ch. XXI. "That whatever they do secretly is forbidden"—that is, that they ought to come to the light, and not to conceal their doctrine.

Ch. XXII. "That the heretics do not give up, but rather seek after, temporal things."

Ch. XXIII. "A Proof that they are themselves heretics; and no others."

Ch. XXIV. "That the Scripture ought to be understood spiritually; and not according to the letter."

Ch. XXV. "Against those who are called Xabatati."

Ch. XXVI. "On the various sorts of Heretics, and their opinions."

Ch. XXVII. "A disputation against the Jews."

Ch. XXVIII. "Questions to catch (*decipiendos* marg. *capiendos*) heretics."

These questions, as I have stated, are chiefly framed on apparent discrepancies of various passages of scripture; and seem to have been merely intended to puzzle heretics—for instance, "Every *plant* which my Heavenly Father hath not *planted* shall be rooted up;" but St. Paul says, "I have *planted*," &c.—Our Lord said, "These are the words which I spake unto you while I was yet *with* you;" was he not "*with* them" when he was saying this?—Our Lord said, "I have many things to say and to *judge* of you;" and again, "I *judge* no man"—he said, "*my* doctrine is not *mine*"—"if Rachel wept, why did she refuse to be comforted? and, if she refused to be comforted, why did she weep?"—but perhaps I have said more than enough of a book which seems to have been principally written to shew the author's learning, and his acuteness in framing and answering objections; and from which we can learn but little of those whom he opposed, because he knew but little himself.

*Peter of Vaux-Sernai.* A. D. 1218.

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This monk of Citeaux, the eye-witness and historian of the Albigensian Crusade, is sufficiently known. I assign to him this year be-



cause it is that with which his history ends. I have not, at present, access to his work, but I find the following extracts in the annals of Raynaldus.<sup>23</sup>

“ First it is to be known that the heretics held that there are two Creators ; viz. one of invisible things, whom they called the benevolent God, and another of visible things, whom they named the malevolent God. The New Testament they attributed to the benevolent God ; but the Old Testament to the malevolent God, and rejected it altogether, except certain authorities which are inserted in the New Testament from the Old ; which, out of reverence to the New Testament, they esteemed worthy of reception. They charged the author of the Old Testament with falsehood, because the Creator said, ‘ In the day that ye eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil ye shall die ;’ nor (as they say) after eating did they die ; when, in fact, after the eating the forbidden fruit they were subjected to the misery of death. They also call him a homicide, as well because he burned up Sodom and Gomorrha, and destroyed the world by the waters of the deluge, as because he overwhelmed Pharaoh, and the Egyptians, in the sea. They affirmed also, that all the fathers of the Old Testament were damned ; that John the Baptist was one of the greater demons. They said also, in their secret doctrine, (*in secreto suo*) that that Christ who was born in the visible, and terrestrial Bethlehem, and crucified in Jerusalem, was a bad man, and that Mary Magdalene was his concubine ; and that she was the woman taken in adultery, of whom we read in the gospel. For the good Christ, as they said, never ate, nor drank, nor took upon him true flesh, nor

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<sup>23</sup> An. 1204, §. 59.

ever was in this world, except spiritually in the body of Paul. I say in the terrestrial and visible Bethlehem, because the heretics feigned that there was another new and invisible country, and in that country, according to some, the good Christ was born and crucified. Also the heretics said that the good God had two wives Collant and Colibant; and from them begat sons, and daughters. There were other heretics who said that there is one Creator, but that he had for sons, Christ and the Devil. These, also, said that all creatures were good; but that by the daughters of whom we read in the Apocalypse, [*marg.* Genesis] all things had been corrupted."

In the next two Sections, Raynaldus gives the following extract:—

"They said that almost all the Church of Rome was a den of thieves; and that it was the harlot of which we read in the Apocalypse. They so far annulled the sacraments of the Church, as publicly to teach that the water of holy Baptism was just the same as river water, and that the Host of the most holy body of Christ did not differ from common bread; instilling into the ears of the simple this blasphemy, that the body of Christ, even though it had been as great as the Alps, would have been long ago consumed, and annihilated by those who had eaten of it. Confirmation and Confession, they considered as altogether vain and frivolous. They preached that Holy Matrimony was meretricious, and that none could be saved in it, if they should beget children. Denying also the Resurrection of the flesh, they invented some unheard of notions, saying, that our souls are those of angelic spirits who, being cast down from heaven by the apostacy of pride, left their glorified bodies in the air; and that these souls themselves, after successively inhabiting seven terrene bodies, of one

sort or another, having at length fulfilled their penance, return to those deserted bodies.<sup>24</sup>

"It is also to be known that some among the heretics were called 'perfect' or 'good men;' others 'believers' of the heretics. Those who were called perfect, wore a black dress, falsely pretended to chastity, abhorred the eating of flesh, eggs and cheese,<sup>25</sup> wished to appear not liars, when they were continually telling lies, chiefly respecting God. They said also that they ought not on any account to swear.

"Those were called *believers* of the heretics, who lived after the manner of the world, and who though they did not attain so far as to imitate the life of the perfect, nevertheless hoped to be saved in their faith; and though they differed as to their mode of life, they were one with them in belief and unbelief. Those who were called *believers* of the heretics were given to usury, rapine, homicide, lust, perjury, and every vice; and they, in fact, sinned with more security, and less restraint, because they believed that without restitution, without confession and penance, they should be saved, if only, when on the point of death, they could say a *Pater noster*, and receive imposition of hands from the teachers.

"As to the *perfect* heretics however they had a magistracy whom they called Deacons and Bishops, without the imposition of whose hands, at the time of his death, none of the believers thought that he could be saved; but if they laid their hands upon any dying man, however wicked, if he could only say a *Pater noster*, they considered him to be so saved, that without any satisfaction, and without any other aid, he immediately took wing to heaven."

In his sixty-third Section, Raynaldus quotes

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<sup>24</sup> See before, p. 242, note.      <sup>25</sup> See before, p. 355, 346, &c.



a passage, which will be found at length among the authorities, and of which the following is a part,

“ This also they said among their extraordinary absurdities—that if any one of the *perfect* should sin mortally (namely, by eating the least morsel of flesh, or cheese, or egg, or of any prohibited thing) all those who had been consoled by him lost the Holy Spirit; and it was necessary for him to be *re-consoled*, and that even those who were saved fell from heaven for the sin of him who had *consoled* them.”

Another extract in the next Section is as follows,

“ There were besides, *other* heretics, who were called *Waldenses*, from a certain person of Lyons named Waldius. These indeed were bad, but in comparison with the other heretics much less erroneous; for in many things they agreed with us, in some things they disagreed. To omit however most of their heretical opinions, their error consisted chiefly in four things; viz. in wearing sandals after the manner of the Apostles, and saying it was not lawful on any account to swear, or to kill, and moreover in this—that they asserted, that any individual of the sect, in case of necessity, if he only had sandals, without having received Orders from a Bishop, could make the body of Christ.

“ It may suffice for us to have extracted these things briefly concerning the sects of the heretics. When any one went over to the heretics, he who *received* him, said, ‘ Friend, if you wish to be one of us, it behoves you to renounce the whole faith that is held by the Romish Church.’ He must answer, ‘ I renounce; ’—‘ Then receive the Holy Spirit from the good men ’—And then he breathes seven times in his face. Also he says to him ‘ you must renounce

that cross which the priest made on you in baptism, on your breast, and on your shoulders, and on your head, with oil and chrism.' He must answer, 'I renounce it'—'Do you believe that water could work your salvation.' He answers, 'I do not believe it.'—'You must renounce that veil which the priest placed on your head when you were baptized.' He must answer, 'I renounce it.' Thus he receives the baptism of the heretics; and denies the baptism of the church. Then they all place their hands upon him, and kiss him, and clothe him with a black garment, and from that hour he is as one of themselves."

*Guilielmus Brito. A. D. 1223.*

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The poem which this writer (otherwise called Guilhelmus Aremorius, or Guillermus Brito Armoricus) wrote on the exploits of Philip Augustus, King of France, I have not seen; and know only some lines which are quoted in the Councils. As the precise date of his work is uncertain, I have assigned to it that year in which the reign of its hero terminated. The lines are these; and only repeat what has been already so often stated as the heresy imputed to the Publicans—

"Qui bona conjugii reprobant, qui carnibus uti  
Esse nefas dicunt, aliasque superstitiones  
Inducunt; breviter quos tangit epistola Pauli,  
Omnes qui fidei saperent contraria nostræ:  
Quos *Popelicanos* vulgari nomine dicunt."<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Philippidos, Lib. I. cited Conc. XI. 6.

*An Anonymous Writer, quoted by the Abbot of  
Ursperg, about A. D. 1225.*

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A writer quoted by Conrad of Lichtenau, commonly called Abbas Urspergensis, makes the following statement respecting the Waldenses, which the Abbot has inserted in his Chronicle, under the year 1212 :—<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> I translate from a note of Binius, in the tenth volume of the Councils (col. 1533), who gives the passage as if the abbot was speaking in his own person, and had himself witnessed the matters referred to—"testatur hu-  
"jus temporis scriptor Abbas Urspergensis in Chronico  
"Anno Domini MCCXII. his verbis," &c. We have already seen, however (p. 177), that Pope Lucius issued a decree against the Humiliati, and Poor Men of Lyons, in the year 1183; and it is not probable that the abbot, who did not become a priest until 1202, was present at a transaction which appears to have taken place twenty years before. In the works of most writers, indeed, the use of the first person would be decisive; but in this case it affords no evidence whatever, for it was the abbot's way to transfer into his Chronicle the statements of earlier writers without altering the person. This habit, though it might have its inconvenience by leading some of his readers into mistakes, yet seems a sort of voucher that he did not make other alterations, but transcribed documents just as he found them. Vossius, after expressing his surprise at this custom, mentions several instances in which the abbot speaks in the first person, and would lead any reader to



“ There arose two monastic orders in the church, whose youth was renewed like the Eagle’s, and which were confirmed by the Apostolic See—namely those of the Franciscans, and the Dominicans—and which were approved of, perhaps, on this account; because two sects which still exist, had arisen in Italy, one of which called itself the *Humiliati*, and the other the *Poor Men of Lyons*, whom Pope Lucius formerly placed among the heretics, because some superstitious doctrines, and rites were found among them. Moreover, in their private discourses, which they generally made in secret places, they spoke disrespectfully of the Church of God, and of the priesthood. I saw, at that time, some of their number, who were called Poor Men of Lyons at the Apostolic See, with a certain leader of their’s, I think Bernard; and they were trying to get their sect confirmed and privileged by the Apostolic See. They went about through the towns, and villages, saying, forsooth, that they lived the life of the Apostles, not desiring to have any possessions, or any fixed dwelling-place. The Lord Pope, however, dis-

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suppose that he had himself seen things which took place long before he was born—as when, under the year 1099, he says he was with the expedition of Godfrey of Bouillon—that he was at Rome in 1102, when the Pope excommunicated the Emperor—that, in 1106, he saw a comet, &c. “ Ubique de se in prima loquitur persona, Ego accepi, Ego veni,” &c. De Hist. Lat. 460. I know not, therefore, at what precise time this writer should be dated; but, as he speaks as if the Franciscan and Dominican Orders were already become considerable, it may, perhaps, be necessary to place him as late as 1225, which is more than forty years after the transaction which he relates.

approved of some superstitious points in their way of life—namely that they cut off the upper part of their shoes, and walked apparently barefoot. Besides, though they wore a kind of hoods, as if they belonged to some monastic order, they did not cut their hair otherwise than as laymen. This also appeared scandalous respecting them—that men and women went travelling about together, and commonly lived in the same house, and (it was said) sometimes lay in the same bed. All which things, however, they asserted to have come down from the Apostles. The Lord Pope therefore, instead of them, confirmed some others who rose up in their place, who called themselves Poor Minors (*Pauperes Minores*) who rejected the before-mentioned superstitious and scandalous matters, but went really barefoot both in summer and winter, and received neither money nor anything else but food, unless it happened that some one might of his own accord offer them some necessary garment, but they did not ask anything from anybody. These, however, afterwards considering that sometimes too much talk of humility becomes boasting, and that the name of poverty, falsely assumed by so many, was vain-glorious in the sight of God, chose rather to be called Minor Friars (*Minores Fratres*) than Poor Minors, being in all things obedient to the Apostolic See. The others, namely the Dominicans, are supposed to have come in the place of the Humiliati. For the Humiliati, having no authority, or licence, from the Prelates, but thrusting their sickle into the harvest of others, preached to the people, and took upon them generally to regulate their lives, to hear their confessions, and to bring into discredit the ministry of the priests. The Pope, wishing to correct these things, instituted and confirmed the order of Preachers [or Dominicans] for the former were uneducated and illiterate, and employed in manual labour, and preached, obtaining what was neces-

sary for their support from their followers; but these latter, constantly occupied in study, and in reading the sacred Scriptures, had no other occupation than that of writing books, and most diligently hearing them from their superiors, so that they could go forth with the arrows and the bow, and all the armour of the mighty, and stand for the defence of the holy mother church, and go up against them, and place themselves as a wall for the house of Israel. While they confirm faith, and instruct in virtue, they teach and commend the statutes of the church, and reprove and correct the sins and vices of men; being nevertheless obedient in all things to the Apostolic See from which they derive their chief authority."

*Reinerius Saccho.* A. D. 1254.

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What has been already said respecting this writer<sup>28</sup> may form a sufficient introduction; but, as he has been so frequently cited as an authority, by writers who seem not to have been much acquainted with his work, and as that work is probably not in the hands of most of those who read the more modern books, in which it is appealed to, I shall give rather copious extracts. It was published by Gretser, and is reprinted in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, Tom IV. P. II. col. 746.

The *first* chapter is a commendation of the christian faith; shewing its superiority to the faith of the heretics, in eleven points.

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<sup>28</sup> See before, p. 23—36.



The *second* chapter, in less than seven lines, discusses the question "Who is a heretic?"

The *third*, *fourth* and *fifth* chapters, I give entire—

*On the Causes of Heresy.*

Chap. III.

"And thirdly observe that there are six causes of heresy.

"The *first* is vain-glory—for, seeing that the doctors receive honour in the church, they also covet to receive honour for learning.

"The *second* is that all—namely, men and women, small and great, night and day, do not cease to learn. The workman who is employed all day, teaches or learns in the night; and therefore they pray but little, by reason of study. They teach, and learn, without books; and they also teach and learn in the houses of the lepers. Also, by way of introduction, they teach men to avoid the seven mortal sins, and these three things—namely, lying, slandering, and swearing. These they prove by many authorities, and call them the ten commandments. Also by the time that a man has learned for a week, he looks out for a scholar, as one curtain draws another. To those who would excuse themselves, as not being able to learn, they say 'Learn only one word every day, and in a year's time you will know three hundred, and you will get on.' What I say is true. A certain heretic for this purpose only, that he might turn away a person from our faith to his own, swam to him in the night, in the winter time, through the water which is called——.<sup>29</sup> Here we may blame the negligence of the orthodox teachers, who are not so zealous

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<sup>29</sup> It appears that something is omitted in the text.

for the truth of the catholic faith, as these heretical Leonists are for the error of their infidelity.

"The *third* cause of heresy is this—that they have translated the New and Old Testament into the vulgar tongue, and thus they teach and learn. I have seen and heard a certain lay countryman, who repeated the book of Job word for word; many who perfectly knew the whole New Testament.<sup>30</sup> And because they are uneducated laymen, they expound the Scriptures falsely, and corruptly; as that passage, St. John, I. 'He came unto his own and his own received him not'—(In propria venit, et sui eum non receperunt)—they say that *sui* means swine, taking *sui* for *sues*. And that in the Psalms,<sup>31</sup> 'Rebuke the wild beasts of the *reeds*,' they translate 'Straffe die Thier der *Schwalben*' [of the *swallows*] mistaking *harundinis* for *hirundinis*. Moreover they give titles to the Psalms—thus, *Eructavit* [Ps. xlv.] they call *d' Maid Psalmi*. *Exurgat* [Ps. lxxviii.] they call *der Rach* [the vengeance]. *De profundis*, [Ps. cxxx.] they call *der re Psalm*, and so of the rest.

"They teach and learn at secret times and places; nor do they admit any one who is not a believer. When they assemble, they say in the first place, 'Take care that there is not a crooked stick among us'—that is, any

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<sup>30</sup> "I own," says Allix, "that by Peter Waldo's taking care to have the Holy Scripture translated into the vulgar tongue, the churches of Italy reaped much benefit from that version, whereof we have to this day some old copies in the Library of the University of Cambridge." *Ch. of Pied.* 192. If they are still there, it would be worth while to see whether they contain these mistakes. If they do not it will be no proof that they are not genuine (for the charge may be false) but if they do, it will be something, though not decisive, in their favour; because if they are forgeries, he who made them might probably be aware that they had been said to contain these errors.

<sup>31</sup> Ps. lxxvii. 31. *Vulgate*.

stranger. They direct also that their doctrine shall be concealed from the clergy; so that some speak by signs, which are intelligible only to themselves. Thus the heretics transform words so that none but themselves can understand. The church they call *Steinhausz*<sup>32</sup> [a house of stones], the altar *Steinhauff* [a heap of stones], the clergy *Scribes*, the monks *Pharisees*, and so with regard to many other things. They never give a direct answer.

“The *fourth* cause of heresy, is the offence arising from the bad example of some persons; so that when they see some persons leading an ill life, they say, ‘The Apostles did not live so—neither do we who are imitators of the Apostles.’

“The *fifth* cause is the want of learning in some persons, who preach sometimes what is frivolous, sometimes what is false; wherefore, whatever a doctor of the church preaches, which he does not prove by the text of the New Testament, they look upon as a mere fable, against the rule of the Church.

“The *sixth* cause is the want of reverence which some ministers of the church manifest towards the sacraments.

“The *seventh* cause is their hatred against the Church. I have heard from the mouths of the heretics, that they intended to reduce the regular clergy to the state of day-labourers, by taking away their tithes and possessions, and by the power and multitude of their believers and favourers. When a certain heresiarch named Hainricus, a glover of Xeroïn [*marg.* Cheron] was led to execution, he said publicly, ‘You are right in condemning us; because, if we were not kept under, the same power which

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<sup>32</sup> Hartzheim, referring to this passage of Reinerius, says “*nominabant Ecclesiam domum stramineam*,” which seems as if he had had a different reading. *Digress. ad Sæc. XIII. §. 15. Conc. Germ. Tom. IV. p. 60.*



you exercise against us, we should use against you—that is, against all the clergy, monks, and laity.’ In all the cities, however, of Lombardy and Provence, and in other kingdoms and countries, there were more schools of the heretics, than of Theologians, and more hearers, who disputed publicly and assembled the people at solemn disputations, preached in the market-place and the fields, and in houses, and there was no one who dared to hinder them, on account of the power and number of their favourers.

“ I have frequently been present at the inquisition and examination of heretics; and the schools<sup>33</sup> of the heretics in the Diocese of Passau, have been reckoned at forty one. In a place which is called *Clemmate*, were ten congregations; and the priest of that church was killed by the heretics, and for that matter no trial followed. There are however these churches which the heretics have—*Zengeuelde* and schools there—also in *Strouizingen*, and schools there—also in *Zeuuhs*—also in *Drossendorff*—also at *St. Oswald’s*—also *Emzempach*, and schools there, and a bishop—also at *St. Christopher’s*—also *Pehaimfirchen*—also in *Ibsia*—also at *St. George’s*—also at *Dansteten*—also in *Brachlaten*—also in *Mewustati*—also in *Ardach*—also in *Sitensteten*—also at *St. Peter’s* in *Auu*, and schools there—also in *Aszpach*—also in *Bolszpach*—also in *Mitra*—also in *Hage*—also in *Spunelburch*—also at *St. Valentine’s*—also in *Herdischhofen*—also in *Stehra*, and schools there—also at *St. Florian’s*—also at *Malszued*—also in *Sirnich*, and schools there—also *Bezsensfirchen*—also in *Chememna*—

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<sup>33</sup> “*Scholæ*”—which I should prefer translating by *congregations* or *assemblies*, but that Reinerius seems to distinguish them from churches, as if there were churches where there were no schools, but not schools without churches. It seems best, therefore, to give the word (especially when he speaks of *schola leprosororum*) without attempting to explain it.

ten, and many schools there; the priest was slain by them—also in *Neuenhofen*, and <sup>then</sup> ~~three~~ schools of lepers (*scholæ leprosororum*)—also in *Melsza*—also in *Eruuans*—also in *Ginnecrochen*—also at *St. Mary's*—also at *Puppingen*—also in *Griefzfirchen*—also in *Narden*—also in *Anaso*, and schools there—also in *Buchfirchen*—also in *Aefergenn* in *Chamer*, and schools there—and *Ninachleub*.”<sup>34</sup>

*On the Sects of Ancient Heretics.*

Chap. iv.

“In the fourth place, observe, that there have been more than seventy Sects of heretics; which, by the grace of God, are all destroyed, except the Sects of the Manichæans, Arians, Runcarii and Leonists, which have infected Germany.”<sup>35</sup> “Among all these Sects, which still are, or

<sup>34</sup> These names are obviously mis-spelt, but I have thought it best to print them just as they stand; for I really know not how to correct all of them. The reader will, of course, consider the *u*, as a *v*, or half a *w*, wherever he pleases; and any licence of conjectural emendation, is warranted by the wretched manner in which the book is printed. I mention this, that in case the reader should find, among those authorities which are taken from the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, some words which he has not seen before, he may not lay the blame on me, or my printer; for though I feel scarcely a doubt in any case that has occurred, yet it seems quite as well to let the reader judge, by printing the text, both as to letters and punctuation, just as it stands. If it is *obviously* misprinted, it will give him no trouble; if that is not *perfectly* clear, he ought to see for himself.

<sup>35</sup> It is singular that Reinierius mentions Germany in particular—that he speaks as if the Leonists, of whom he wrote, used the German language—and that he enters into detail only respecting the Diocese of Passau. It leads me almost to suspect that there is some mistake as to the person, or at least as to the date of the writer; for it seems probable, that if the heretics had been as numerous and powerful as he states, in the Diocese of Passau, at the period when he is supposed to have written, we should have some other account of them beside his. Crammer,

have been, none is more pernicious to the Church than that of the Leonists; and this for three reasons. The first is, because it is older; for some say that it has existed from the time of Sylvester, some from the time of the Apostles. The second, because it is more general; for there is scarcely any country in which this Sect is not. The third, because, while all other Sects excite the abhorrence of their hearers by the outrageousness of their blasphemies against God, this (namely of the Leonists) has a great appearance of piety; and they believe all things concerning God, and which are contained in the Creed, rightly—only they blaspheme the Romish Church; which blasphemy a great multitude of the Laity are easily induced to believe. And, as we read in the Book of Judges, that Samson's foxes had different faces, but their tails tied together, so the heretics are divided into Sects among themselves, but in attacking the Church they are united. When there are, in one house, heretics of three Sects, of which each condemns the other, each one at the same time attacks the Romish Church; and thus these crafty little foxes destroy the vineyard of the Lord, that is the Church, by their errors."

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in his "Heiliges Passau," gives a chapter "On the Apostolical zeal of the Church of Passau against various heretics and jews;" and states, on the authority of Hieronymus Pez (Script. Aust. Tom. 1.) that near the end of the time of Bernard, who was Bishop of Passau from the year 1285 to 1313, some heretics came into his neighbourhood of whom twenty were burned for heresy. It is clear, however, that they were charged with the doctrines imputed to the Albigenses, rather than those which Reinerius assigns to the Leonists. He says they called themselves "Lottards," which is, I suppose, a misprint, for *Lollards*, as he adds, "that is those who praise God" (*Diese Ketzer nannten sich Lottardos, das ist Gottlobende*) and they seem to have been of the same sect, if not the same persons, as those "Lollardi, sive Deum laudantes," of whom Mosheim quotes Hocsemius, in his note Sæc. XIV. P. II. Ch. II. §. xxxvi.



*Of the Sects of Modern Heretics.*<sup>36</sup>

## Chap. v.

“ Observe, that the sect of Poor Men of Lyons, who are also called Leonists, arose in the following manner—once when the principal citizens were assembled in Lyons, it happened that one of them died suddenly, in the presence of the company; whereby one of them was so much alarmed, that he immediately distributed a large property to the poor. And from this cause a great multitude flocked to him, whom he instructed to embrace voluntary poverty, and to be imitators of Christ, and the Apostles. And as he had some little learning (*cum autem esset aliquantulum literatus*) he taught them the text of the New Testament, in the vulgar tongue; and when he was re-proved for this rashness, he derided it, and began to urge his doctrine, telling his disciples that the clergy, who were immoral persons, envied their holy life, and doctrine. When the Pope excommunicated them, they persevered in contempt of it, and so, to this day their rancorous doctrine flourishes everywhere.

“ Observe three things—*First*, concerning the blasphemies wherewith they blaspheme the Romish Church, and its statutes, and all the clergy—in the *second* part their errors respecting the Sacraments of the Church and the saints are stated—in the *Third* part, observe the abomination in which they hold the decent, and approved, customs of the Church.

“ *FIRST*, They say that the Romish Church, is not

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<sup>36</sup> The greater part of this chapter is inserted by Allix, in his book on the Churches of Piedmont, p. 232; but with many variations which shew that he had a different text; and some, which lead me to think that he occasionally mistook the meaning. Some of the principal differences will be pointed out in the notes.

the Church of Jesus Christ, but a church of malignants and that it apostatized under Sylvester, when the poison of temporalities was infused into the church. And they say, that they are the church of Christ, because they observe both in word, and deed, the doctrine of Christ, of the Gospel, and of the Apostles.

" 2. Their second error is that all vices and sins are in the church, and that they alone live righteously.

" 3. That scarcely anyone in the church, but themselves, preserves the evangelical doctrine.

" 4. That they are the true poor in spirit, and suffer persecution for righteousness and faith.

" 5. That they are the Church of Jesus Christ.

" 6. That the Church of Rome is the Harlot in the Apocalypse, on account of its superfluous decoration which the Eastern Church does not regard.<sup>37</sup>

" 7. That they despise all the statutes of the Church, because they are heavy and numerous.

" 8. That the Pope is the head of all errors.

" 9. That the Prelates are Scribes; and the Monks, Pharisees.<sup>38</sup>

" 10. That the Pope and all Bishops are homicides on account of wars.

" 11. That we are not to obey Prelates; but only God.

" 12. That no one is greater than another in the church. Matt. 23. "All of you are brethren."

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<sup>37</sup> "Sextus, quod Romana Ecclesia sit meretrix in Apocalypsi propter superfluum ornatum quem Ecclesia Orientalis non curat." Allix has, "6. That the Eastern church doth not value or regard the Church of Rome: and that the Church of Rome is the whore in the Revelation."

<sup>38</sup> "Quod Prælati sint scribæ; religiosi, Pharisei." Allix has, "that the Prelates are the Scribes, and seeming religious Pharisees."

" 13. That no one ought to bow the knee before a priest. Rev. ii. where the Angel says to John ' See thou do it not.'

" 14. That tithes are not to be given, because first fruits were not given to the church.<sup>39</sup>

" 15. That the clergy ought not to have possessions : Deut. xviii. ' The Priests and all the tribe of Levi, shall not have part and inheritance with the people of Israel, because they eat the sacrifices, and they shall receive nothing else.'

" 16. That the clergy, and monks, ought not to have Prebends.

" 17. That the Bishops and Abbots ought not to have royal rights.

" 18. That the land, and the people, are not to be divided into parts.

" 19. That it is a bad thing to found and endow churches and monasteries.

" 20. That wills are not to be made in favour of Churches—also, that no one ought to be a tenant of the church—also, they condemn all the clergy for idleness, saying that they ought to work with their hands as the Apostles did—also, they reprobate titles of dignity such as Pope, Bishops, &c.—also, that no one is to be forced into belief—also, that they make no account of all ecclesiastical offices—also, that they care nothing for ecclesiastical privileges—also, they despise the immunity of the Church and of ecclesiastical persons and things—also, they condemn Councils, Synods, and Assemblies—also, they say that

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<sup>39</sup> " Quod decimæ non sint dandæ, quia primitiæ ecclesiæ non dabantur." Allix seems to have had what is probably the correct reading (*primitivæ*) and translates " That tithes are not to be given to priests, because there was no use of them in the primitive church."



all parochial rights are inventions—also, they say that monastic rules are the traditions of the Pharisees.

“SECONDLY, they condemn all the Sacraments of the Church; in the first place, as to baptism, they say that the Catechism is nothing—also, that the ablution which is given to infants profits nothing<sup>40</sup>—also, that the Sponsors do not understand what they answer to the priest—also, that that offering which is called *anwegen*<sup>41</sup> is an invention—also, they reprobate all exorcisms, and benedictions of baptism—also, they reprobate the sacrament of confirmation and wonder why Bishops only are allowed to confirm—also, concerning the Sacrament of the Eucharist, they say that Priests in mortal sin cannot consecrate<sup>42</sup>—also, they say that transubstantiation does not take place in the hand of him who unworthily consecrates, but in the mouth of him who worthily receives; and that consecration may be made at a common table, Malachi, ‘In every place there shall be offered to my name a pure offering’—also, they reprobate this, that the faithful communicate once in a year, because they communicate every day—also, they say that transubstantiation may take place by words in the vulgar tongue—also, they say that the mass is nothing, because the Apostles had it not, and that it is done for the sake of gain—also, they do not receive the canon of the mass, except only the words of Christ in the vulgar tongue—also, they call the singing in the Church an infernal clamour—also, they reprobate the canonical hours—also, they say that the offering which is made by priests in the

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<sup>40</sup> “Quod *ablutio* quæ datur infantibus nihil prosit.” Allix has “that the *absolution* pronounced over infants avails them nothing.”

<sup>41</sup> Allix, *al wegen*.

<sup>42</sup> Allix has, in addition, “but that a good layman, yea, a woman if she knows the sacramental words, may”—

mass is nothing, and does not profit—also, they reprobate the kiss of peace, and of the altar.<sup>43</sup>

“ Concerning the sacrament of Penance, they say, that no one can be absolved by a bad priest—also, that a good layman has the power of absolving—also, that they can remit sins by the imposition of hands, and give the Holy Spirit—also, that it is better to confess to a good layman, than to a bad priest—also, that such penance as is not heavy is to be enjoined; by the example of Christ, ‘Go and sin no more’—also, they reprobate the public penances, as chains, especially in the case of women—also, that a general confession is not to be made every year.

“ Also, they condemn the sacrament of Marriage, saying that married persons sin mortally if they come together without the hope of offspring—also, they disregard compaternity—also, they despise the degrees of affinity, carnal and spiritual, and the impediments of Orders, and of public decency, and of ecclesiastical prohibitions—also, they say that a woman after child-bearing does not require benediction, or introduction—also, they say that the church has erred in prohibiting the marriage of the Clergy, while even those of the East marry—also, they say that the continent do not sin in kisses and embraces.

“ The sacrament of Unction, they reprobate, because it is only given to the rich; and because several priests are required for it—also, they say that the sacrament of Orders is nothing—also, they say that every good layman is a priest, as the Apostles were laymen—also, that the prayer<sup>44</sup> of an evil priest does not profit—also, they

<sup>43</sup> Allix has, in addition, “ of the priests’ hands and pope’s feet.”

<sup>44</sup> Allix has, “ the *preaching* of a wicked priest”—in the text before me it stands “ Item, quod *ratio* mali sacerdotis,” &c.—which, I suppose, should be *oratio*.

deride the clerical tonsure—also, that Latin prayer does not profit the vulgar—also, they make it a matter of ridicule that illegitimate persons<sup>45</sup> and wicked sinners are raised to eminence in the church—also, they say that every layman, and even woman ought to preach, I. Cor. xiv. ‘I would that ye spake in tongues, that the church might receive edification’<sup>46</sup>—also, whatever is preached which cannot be proved by the text of Scripture they consider as fabulous—also, they say that the Holy Scripture has the same effect in the vulgar tongue, as in Latin; wherefore they consecrate in the vulgar tongue and give the sacraments—also, they know by heart the text of the New Testament, and a great part of the Old—also, they reject the Decretals and Decrees, and sayings and expositions of the fathers, and adhere only to the text—also, they despise excommunication, and care nothing for absolution<sup>47</sup>—also, they reject the indulgences of the church, deride its dispensations, and have no notion of irregularity—also, they believe none to be a saint but the Apostles, and none to be holy but God alone<sup>48</sup>—also, they despise canonizations, translations and the vigils of the Saints—also, they deride those laymen who chuse saints by lot at the altar—also, they never read the litany and laugh at the legends of the saints<sup>49</sup>—also, they despise the relics of the saints—also, they consider the cross as mere wood—also, they abhor the sign of the cross on account of the passion of Christ; nor do they ever sign themselves—also, they say that the

<sup>45</sup> Allix inserts “boys.”

<sup>46</sup> The text, as quoted by Allix, is “For you may all prophesy, one by one, that all may be edified.”

<sup>47</sup> Allix adds “which they expect from God alone.”

<sup>48</sup> Allix omits the words in italics, and has instead “they pray to no saint.”

<sup>49</sup> Allix adds, “and make a mock of the saints’ miracles.”



doctrine of Christ and the Apostles is sufficient for salvation without the statutes of the church—that the tradition of the church is the tradition of the Pharisees ; and that there is more made of the transgression of a human tradition than of a divine law. Matt. xv. ‘Why do ye transgress the commands of God by reason of your traditions?’ Also, they reject the mystical sense in the holy Scriptures, principally as it regards the sayings and doings delivered in the Church by tradition ; as that the cock upon the steeple signifies a doctor.

“As to the THIRD point, observe, that with respect to the customs of the Church, they hold these errors. All the approved customs of the Church of which they do not read in the Gospel, they despise ; as Candlemas, Palm Sunday, the reconciliation of penitents, the adoration of the cross on Good Friday, the festival of Easter—they despise the feasts of Christ and of the saints, because of the great number of them, and say that one day is like another ; and therefore they privately work on the festivals—also, they do not keep the fasts of the church ; Isaiah, lviii. ‘Is this the fast as I have chosen?’—also, all dedications, benedictions and consecrations of candles, of meats,<sup>50</sup> of palms, of chrism, of fire, of wax, of the agnus Dei, of women after childbirth, of pilgrims, of holy places, of holy persons, garments, salt, and water—they deride the church built with walls and look upon it as a barn, and call it commonly *Stainhauf*<sup>51</sup> [a heap of stones] and say that God does not dwell there, Acts, xvii. ‘God dwelleth not in temples made with hands,’ and that prayers made there are of no more avail than those made in a chamber, Matt. vi. ‘Thou when thou prayest enter into thy closet,’ &c.—also,

<sup>50</sup> “Carnium”—Allix, reading I suppose “cinerum,” has *ashes*.

<sup>51</sup> Allix has “Steinhaus,” a *house* of stones.

they care nothing about the dedication of the church or of the altar—also, they say that the decoration of the church is a sin and that it would be better to clothe the poor than to ornament walls—also, of the altar they say that it is a pity (*quod damnum sit*) that the cloth should rot upon the stone, and that Christ did not give his disciples stoles, nor scarves, nor surplices—also, they consecrate in a common drinking vessel instead of a chalice—also, they say that the cloth which covers the host is no more than the cloth of their breeches—also, as to lights they say, that God, who is true light, does not need light, and that the only use of them in the churches is that the priests may not break their shins—also, they reprobate censuring—they say that holy water is like common water—images, and pictures, they call idolatrous—also, they scoff at the singing in the church, and say that there is no meaning in the music, but only in the words—also, they deride the noise made by the laity—also, they reject the festive processions, as of Easter, and the mournful ones, as of the Rogation days, and at funerals—they say, also, that the chanting by day and night, which the church had not had before, was instituted by Gregory—also, they find fault that a priest is allowed to say many masses in one day<sup>52</sup>—also, they rejoice during an interdict because at that time they seduce many—also, they say that men are compelled to go to church for the sake of lucre; and they also go in a hypocritical manner, offer, confess, communicate, but all hypocritically—also, they make pilgrimages,<sup>53</sup> and so going to Lombardy, visit their

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<sup>52</sup> Allix adds “for several persons. They laugh at the custom of bringing sick persons on a bench before the altar to make their supplications there for health.”

<sup>53</sup> Allix has “they dissuade people from going on pilgrimage to “Rome, and other places beyond sea; though they themselves pretend “to go on pilgrimage,” &c.

Bishops—also, they despise the sepulchre of Christ and the sepulchres of the saints—also, they reprobate the ecclesiastical burial, Matt. xxiii. ‘Woe unto you that build sepulchres;’ they would even prefer being buried in a field, to being buried in a church-yard, if they were not afraid of the church—also, they say that the offices for the dead, the mass for the defunct, oblations of funerals, testaments, legacies, visitation of sepulchres, reading vigils, anniversarius, tricesimus, septimus, and other suffrages do not profit the souls [of the dead]<sup>54</sup>—also, they discourage those associations of the laity and clergy which are called *Zeche*, and say that all these things are done for the sake of gain. All these errors they hold because they deny Purgatory, saying that there are only two ways—namely, one of the elect to heaven, the other, of the damned to hell. ‘Where the tree falls, there it shall be.’ For if he is good he wants no suffrage—if not, it will be of no service to him—also, they say that every sin is mortal, and none venial—also, they say that one *Pater noster* is more efficacious than the sound of ten bells, and more than the mass—also, they say that every oath is a mortal sin. ‘Swear not at all; let your communication be yea, yea, nay, nay.’ To say ‘truly’ or ‘certainly’ they account swearing; *for the perfect among them would rather die than swear; but the imperfect swear if compelled to do it, or even if the form of the oath is recited to them; excusing themselves from sin by this, lest they should be forced, and should betray secrets*<sup>55</sup>—also, they consider him who compels anyone to swear as

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<sup>54</sup> Allix adds “they condemn the watching with the dead by night, “because of the follies and wickedness which are acted on these occasions.”

<sup>55</sup> Allix omits what is in *italics*, and has, “They think it is an oath “to say *verily* or *certainly*, thereby to excuse himself from sin, that he “may not divulge secrets,” &c.



worse than a homicide—as a confirmer, because in the confirmation he requires an oath,<sup>66</sup> and a Judge from witnesses, and an examiner in the faith, and a priest who compels anyone to abjure his sins whereby many are perjured—also, they blame him who says, that he who breaks faith given to a priest is guilty of seven perjuries—also, they say that all Princes and judges are damned;<sup>67</sup> and they say that malefactors are not to be condemned, as it is written ‘Vengeance is mine, I will repay;’ ‘let them both grow’—also, they say that the ecclesiastical jurisdiction which the priests have is exercised not for the sake of correction, but for gain.”

In his *sixth* Chapter, Reinerius gives an account of the *Runcarii*; of whom he says that they agreed for the most part with the *Patrini*—he then goes on to speak of the *Siscidenses*; of whom he only says, that they “agree with the “*Waldenses* in almost every thing except that “they receive the sacrament of the Eucharist.”<sup>68</sup> He then gives a short account of the *Ortlibenses*—and proceeds—

“Also, if you wish perfectly to know the error of the *Patrini*, consult the *Summa* of Brother Tonson. With such, little can be done, except by witnesses, because the *imperfect* swear, and lie—but the *perfect*, who are called *consolati* in Lombardy, and *boni homines* in Germany, would die before they would do any such thing.”

<sup>66</sup> Allix has “as likewise he that confers confirmation, because he exacts an oath from the party that is confirmed.”

<sup>67</sup> So Allix—in the text it stands *dantur*.

<sup>68</sup> “Nisi quod recipiunt Eucharistiæ Sacramentum”—where perhaps we should read *rejiciunt*.

He then speaks of the *Ordinarii*; and, after a second notice of the *Ortlibenses*, he comes to the *Cathari*, of which sect he had been a leader, and to which he had belonged for seventeen years. His evidence, therefore, is worth transcribing. "What, then, is the testimony, which the Inquisitor-General bears to the well-known faith of those who had once been his brethren?"<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> The question is Mr. Faber's—and he answers it by printing in capitals, "They believe all things rightly concerning God with all the articles which are contained in the creed." This, however, as the reader has just seen, is the testimony of Reinerius respecting the *Leonists*; whom Mr. Faber considers as including the Waldenses and Albigenses. After quoting from the fourth chapter of Reinerius, he says—

"This testimony I hold to be singularly valuable and important. At the precise time when Reinerius was decorated or disgraced with the persecuting functions of Inquisitor-General, the union of the Albigensic church with the Vallensic church, in the valleys of Piedmont, had recently been effected, through the operation of the crusade conducted by Simon de Montfort. In speaking, therefore, of the *Leonists*, Reinerius speaks *jointly* both of the Albigenses and the Vallenses: for, at this time, the two churches had become inseparably united and blended in one communion. That such is the case, is evident, both from the very necessity of the matter, and from the circumstance of his designating the reputed heretics by the appellation of *Leonists*. This name, in strictness of speech, was proper only to the Albigenses:

“ The sect of the CATHARI is divided into three parts, or principal divisions (*sectas principales*) ; of which the first are called *Albanenses*, the second *Concorezenses*, the third *Bagnolenses*, and these are all in Lombardy. The other Cathari, however, whether in Tuscany, the Marquisate [of Trevisano], or in Provence, do not differ in their opinions from the said Cathari, or some of them. For all these Cathari have some common opinions in which they agree, and there are some peculiar opinions in which they disagree. The common opinions of all the Cathari are these—namely, that the Devil made the world, and all things in it. Also, that all the Sacraments of the church—namely, the sacrament of Baptism of material water, and the other sacraments, are not profitable to salvation, and that they are not the true sacraments of Christ, and of his church ; but delusive, and diabolical, and of the church of the malignants. Also, it is a common opinion of all the Cathari, that carnal marriage is always a mortal sin, and that the future punishment of adultery, and incest, will not be greater than that of lawful matrimony ; nor

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“ for they received it from the town of Lyons, where they  
 “ greatly abounded in the twelfth century, and whence  
 “ they were familiarly denominated Leonists, or Poor  
 “ Men of Lyons. But when they joined the Vallenses,  
 “ in Piedmont, the appellation was extended to the whole  
 “ communion : and henceforth it became one of the many  
 “ titles, by which these faithful witnesses were accustomed  
 “ to be described. Under the name, therefore, of *Leonists*,  
 “ Reinerius jointly and collectively speaks both of the  
 “ Vallenses and of the Albigenses ; certainly of the Albi-  
 “ genses quite as much, if not more, than of the Val-  
 “ lenses.” Sac. Cal. III. 56. I venture to hope, that at  
 this stage of the enquiry, such a statement requires no  
 comment.



would any one among them be more severely punished. Also, all the Cathari deny that there will be a resurrection of the flesh. Also, they believe, that it is a mortal sin to eat flesh, or eggs, or cheese, even in case of urgent necessity. Also, that the secular powers sin mortally in punishing malefactors, or heretics. Also, that no one can be saved but by them. Also, that all children, even unbaptized, will be eternally punished with no less severity than homicides, and thieves. The Albanenses, however, differ on this point; saying, that no creature of the good God will perish. Also, they all deny Purgatory. Also, it is a common opinion of all the Cathari, that whosoever kills a bird, from the least to the greatest, or quadrupeds, from the weasel to the elephant, commits a great sin; but they do not extend this to other animals.

“The Cathari (like apes who try to imitate the actions of men) have four Sacraments; but such as are false, nugatory, unlawful, and sacrilegious; which are the imposition of hands, the benediction of bread, penance, and orders. Of each of these we shall speak in course.

“IMPOSITION OF HANDS, is called by them *consolamentum*, and *Spiritual Baptism*, and *Baptism of the Holy Spirit*, without which, according to them no mortal sin is remitted, nor is the Holy Spirit given to any one; but by it (only however as performed by them) both are granted. On this point the Albanenses differ a little from them; for they say that the hands are of no efficacy in the matter because they hold them to have been created by the Devil (as will be hereafter stated) but only the Lord's Prayer, which they repeat at that time; and that each is necessary, namely, the imposition of hands, and the Lord's Prayer. It is also a common opinion of all the Cathari, that, by that imposition of hands, and Lord's Prayer, there is no remission of sins, if they who perform the imposition of hands are, at that time, in any mortal

sin.<sup>60</sup> This imposition of hands is performed by two at least; and not only by their Bishops (*prælati*), but also by the inferiors (*subditis*), and, in cases of necessity, even by the female members of the sect (*a Catharabus*).

“The BENEDICTION OF THE BREAD of the Cathari, is a certain breaking of bread, which they daily perform at dinner and supper. This breaking of bread is performed in the following manner—when the members of the sect, male and female, go to the table, they all stand, and say the Lord’s Prayer. In the mean time, he who is first in rank, or in orders, holding a loaf (or more than one if the number present requires it), and saying, ‘The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with us all,’ breaks the bread in pieces, and distributes it to all who are at the table, not only to the Cathari, but also to their believers, adulterers, thieves, and homicides. The Albanenses, however, say that that material bread is not blessed, nor capable of receiving any benediction, because, according to them, it is in itself a creature of the Devil; and in this they differ from all the others, who say that that bread is actually blessed. None of them, however, believe that from that bread the body of Christ is made.

“The PENANCE of all the Cathari is, beyond all doubt, false, vain, delusive, and noxious, as will be shewn in what follows. For, in order to constitute true and fruitful penance, three things are required—namely, the contrition of the heart, the confession of the mouth, and the satisfaction of works. But I, Brother Rinherus, once a heresiarch, now, by the grace of God, a priest of the order of the Preaching Friars, though unworthy, do unhesitatingly say, and testify before God that I lie not, that there is no-

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<sup>60</sup> I presume this must be the meaning, the text is, “si illi quibus tunc manus imponunt, sunt tunc in aliquo mortali peccato.”



thing of those three things among the Cathari, or in their penance. For the poison of error, which they have drunk from the mouth of the old serpent, does not allow of their having any sorrow for their sins. This error, however, is four-fold—first, that eternal glory is not diminished for any sin—secondly, that the punishment of hell is not increased to the impenitent—thirdly, that there is no purgatory for anybody—fourthly, that, by the imposition of hands, guilt and punishment is entirely remitted by God ; for that a child of one day old, will be not less punished than Judas the traitor, but all are (according to their belief) equal, both in glory, and punishment—except, however, the Albanenses ; who say, that every one will be restored to his former state, but not for his own deserts, and that in each kingdom (that is, of God and of the Devil), some are greater than others. I say also, that many of them, who are infected with the before-mentioned errors, often grieve when they recollect that they did not give full licence to their appetites before they made profession of the heresy of the Cathari ; and this is the reason why many of the believers, both men and women, think no more of incest than of lawful union. Some of them, however, are, perhaps, restrained from sin of this kind by its horrible nature, and by instinctive shame.

“ Another proof that they do not grieve for the sins which they committed before their profession of heresy, is this—that they make no restitution of what they have acquired by usury, theft, or rapine ; nay, they keep it, or rather leave it to their children, and grand-children, who are living in the world ; because they say that usury is no sin. Moreover, I say that in the seventeen years during which, alas ! I was in their society, I never saw any one of them engaged in private prayer apart from others, or manifest sorrow for his sins, or weep, or smite upon his



breast, and say, 'God be merciful to me a sinner;' or anything of the kind which could denote contrition. Nor do they ever implore the patronage of angels or saints, or of the blessed Virgin Mary, nor fortify themselves with the sign of the cross.

"We come next to the confession of the Cathari—what it is, and when, and to whom they make it. Their confession is this—'I am before God and you, to make confession, and to accuse myself of all my sins which are in me in any way, and to receive from you all, pardon from God, and from yourselves.' This confession is made publicly, before all who are assembled, where there are often a hundred and more Cathari, male and female, and their believers. And every one makes this confession when he receives the said imposition of hands, and he makes it especially to their Prelate, holding the Book of the Gospels, or of the whole New Testament on his breast; who, having given absolution, places the said book upon his head, and the other Cathari who are present. . . . .<sup>61</sup> his right hand, immediately beginning the prayers.

"Whenever any one, who has received the said imposition of hands, falls into any sin of the flesh, or any which is in their opinion mortal, he is required to confess that sin only, and not any others; and again, privately, to receive imposition of hands from his Prelate, and from one other, at least with him. All bowing down to the ground, before the prelate, holding the book on his breast, one (speaking for all) says with a loud voice, 'We come before God, and you, confessing our sins; because we have greatly sinned in word, and deed, in sight, and thought,' and the like. Whence it evidently appears that

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<sup>61</sup> There is apparently some omission in the text.

all the Cathari die in their sins, without confession. And in this way they confess only once in the month, if they conveniently can.

“The satisfaction of the Cathari comes next—wherein it may be enquired, whether the Cathari perform their works for the satisfaction of those sins which they had committed before they had joined the sect? To which I briefly answer, No—although it may appear strange to the ignorant. For they frequently pray, and fast, and at all times abstain from meat, eggs, and cheese; all which have the appearance of being works of satisfaction for their sins, and of which they often vainly boast. There is, however, a three-fold error in them, which prevents their having the nature of satisfaction. The first is, that all guilt and punishment of this kind, is remitted by their imposition of hands and prayer; or by prayer only, according to the Albanenses, as has been already stated. The second error is, that God does not inflict the punishment of purgatory (which they altogether deny) on any one; or any temporal punishment in this life, which they consider as inflicted by the Devil. This is also the reason why they do not enjoin the penance of abstinence on any one, either as penance, or for the remission of their sins. The third error is, that every man is necessarily bound to perform those works, as being commanded by God. Thus even a child, of ten years old, who had never committed any mortal sin before he became a Catharist, is punished in the same way as an old man, who, during a long period, had never ceased from sin. For any Catharist among them would not be more severely punished for having drunk poison, intending to destroy himself, than for having eaten a fowl, to save his life, either in the way of medicine, or in any other case of necessity; nor will, according to them, be more severely punished hereafter. They say, also, the same with regard to marriage, as has been already



stated. Also they give little or no alms to strangers, except, perhaps, to avoid scandal among their neighbours, and that they may get credit from them. They give, also, very little to their own poor, and the cause is two-fold—the first is, that they do not hope to obtain by it an increase of future glory, or the pardon of their sins; the second is, that almost all of them are very close, and avaricious.

“Next follows the prayer of the Cathari—this they consider as absolutely necessary when they take food or drink. Many of them, on this account, have directed those who waited upon them in sickness, not to put any food or drink into their mouths, if they (the sick person) could not at least say a *Pater Noster*; <sup>62</sup> whence it is very probable that many of them kill themselves by these means, or are killed by their heretical brethren (*cohæreticis*).

“From what has been said, it most clearly appears, that the Cathari do not, in fact, perform any penance—especially, as they have not contrition for their sins, nor confess them, nor make satisfaction for them; although they afflict themselves much, and are most grievously punished for their errors and sins.

“ORDERS, the fourth Sacrament of the Cathari,

<sup>62</sup> See before, p. 255, n. 35. I have there said that I know of nothing in the Book of Sentences to explain the single case referred to—how far Reinerius does it, the reader will judge. The rule mentioned by him seems to have been general, and applicable to all members of the Sect, under all circumstances, and it would account for their not allowing food to those who were in extremity—but it does not appear that all the persons in *endura* were so; or that, provided they had, or recovered, the power of saying a *Pater Noster*, they were to be allowed food. Yet this seems to have been the original doctrine, which the heretics of the Book of Sentences either ignorantly and fanatically overstrained, or wickedly perverted.



comes next—concerning which observe five things. First, that they have Orders. Secondly, their names. Thirdly, the office of each Order. Fourthly, how, and by whom, they are conferred. Lastly, how many Churches of the Cathari there are, and where they are situated.

“ In the first place, then, observe that the Orders of the Cathari are four. He who is in the first, and chief Order, is called BISHOP (*Episcopus*). He who is in the second, the ELDER SON (*Filius Major*). He who is in the third, the YOUNGER SON (*Filius Minor*). He who is in the fourth and last, DEACON (*Diaconus*). The others among those who are not in any Order, are called Christians (*Christiani et Christianæ*).

“ Secondly, observe, that it is the office of the Bishop, always to take the lead in whatever they do—namely, in the imposition of hands, in the breaking of bread, and the beginning of prayer; which things are in his absence performed by the Elder Son, or if he is not present, by the Younger Son. Moreover, those two Sons go about either singly, or together, to visit all the Cathari who are under the Bishop, and all are bound to obey them. The same in all respects is done by the Deacons, and each one with regard to those who are under him, in the absence of the Bishop, and his Sons. And observe, that the Bishop, and his Sons, have Deacons of their own, in every city where they reside. Also, observe, that it is the office of the Deacons to hear confessions of venial sins, which are made once in a month, as has been already stated; and to give absolution to those under their care, enjoining on them three days of fasting, or a hundred bows with bended knees (*inclinationes flexis genibus*) and that office is called, if I may so speak, *caregare servitium*.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> “Galli dicerent, *Charger le service*, id est augere.” *Du Cange*.

“ The Orders aforesaid are conferred by the Bishop, and also, with the Bishop’s licence, by his Sons. The ordination of a Bishop used to be performed in this manner. On the death of a Bishop, the Younger Son ordained the Elder Son Bishop; and he, afterwards, ordained the Younger Son an Elder Son. After that, a Younger Son was elected by all the Bishops and inferiors, who were convened for this purpose by the Bishop, and was ordained a Younger Son; and this mode of ordaining a Younger Son has not been altered among them. That, however, which has been mentioned with reference to the Bishop, has been changed by all the Cathari who dwell in the neighbourhood of the sea; saying, that by such an ordination, the Son seemed to appoint the Father, which had a very incongruous appearance; and therefore is now done differently, in this manner—the Bishop, before his death, ordains the Elder Son as Bishop; and, if he dies, the Son becomes Bishop, and the Younger Son becomes an Elder Son the same day. Thus almost all the Cathari have, at all times, two Bishops. Wherefore John of Lyons, who is one of those who are thus ordained, styles himself in his epistles ‘ John of Lyons, by the Grace of God, Elder Son and ordained Bishop,’ &c. Each ordination is, however, manifestly reprehensible—for neither does a natural son appoint his father, nor do we ever read of one, and the same, church having two of its sons<sup>64</sup> Bishops at the same time, any more than of a woman having two lawful husbands. All the aforesaid Orders are conferred by imposition of hands, and this honour, namely, of conferring the above-mentioned orders, and of giving the Holy Spirit, is attributed to the Bishop alone; or, to him who is the chief

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<sup>64</sup> I suppose this is the meaning—but in the wretchedly printed text, it stands “ duos habuerit lios Episcopos.”



and principal person, in holding the book of the New Testament on the head of him on whom hands are laid.

“ Observe, moreover—that the Cathari are in a state of great uncertainty, and peril of their souls—for instance, if their prelate (especially a Bishop) has secretly committed any mortal sin (and many such cases have occurred among them) all those on whom he has laid hands are deceived, and, if they die in that state, perish. For the sake, therefore, of avoiding this danger, all the churches of the Cathari (except one or two) receive the *consolamentum*, (that is, the imposition of hands, which is their Baptism, as I have already said) twice, and some thrice; and what I have here stated is matter of public notoriety among them.

“ The CHURCHES, however, of the Cathari amount to sixteen; and blame me not, O Reader! that I use the word Churches, but rather those who have assumed the title. Their names are these—the church of the Albanenses, or of *Sansano*—the church of *Contorezo*—the church of the *Bagnolenses*, or of *Bagnolo*—the church of *Vicenza*, or of the Marquisate [of *Trevisano*]—the church of *Florence*—the church of the Valley of *Spoletto*—the church of *France*—the church of *Thoulouse*—the church of *Cahors* (*Carthasensis, marg. Cadurcensis*)—the church of *Albi*—the church of *Sclavonia*—the church of the *Latins* at Constantinople—the church of the *Greeks*, at the same place—the church of *Philadelphia* of *Romaniola*—the church of *Bulgaria*—the church of *Dugranicia*—and they all derive their origin from the two last.

“ The first of these, namely the *Albanenses*, live at Verona, and in many cities of Lombardy; and are in number about five hundred, of both sexes. Those of *Contorezo* are almost all over Lombardy, and are full fifteen hundred, or even more. The *Bagnolenses* live in Mantua, Brescia, Bergamo, and the Duchy of Milan (but few only) and in *Romaniola*, and are about two hundred. The



church of the *Marquisate* [*of Trevisano*] has nothing at Verona; but they are about a hundred and fifty. The church of *Thoulouse*, and of *Albi*, and of *Cahors* [*Charchagensis, marg. Cadarcensis*], with some which formerly existed, as the church of *Auch* [*Auzinensis, marg. Ausciensis*] which is almost destroyed, are about three hundred. The church of the *Latins* in Constantinople consists of about fifty. Also, the churches of *Sclavonia*, of the *Greeks*, of *Philadelphia*, of *Bulgaria*, and of *Dugranicia*,<sup>65</sup> are composed of all nations. O Reader! you may safely say, that there are not four thousand Cathari, of both sexes, in all the world; but believers innumerable; and this computation has often been made among them.

“We come next, to the peculiar opinions among the Cathari; and first, as to the church of the *Albanenses* (which is otherwise called of *Senzano*) because they err on more points than the rest of the Cathari. In the first place, then, it is to be especially observed, that these *Albanenses* are divided into two parties, holding different, and contrary opinions. The head of one party is Gelesmanza, their Bishop of Verona; and most of the elder, and a few of the younger belong to his Sect. The head of the other party, is John of Lyons, their Elder Son, and ordained Bishop of Bergamo; and, on the other hand, the younger ones, and very few of the elder, follow him. And this party is considerably greater than the other. The first party hold all the old opinions, which the older Cathari held in the year of our Lord 1233.

“The opinions of these, beside the common ones already mentioned, are the following—that there are two principles from God, namely, of good, and of evil. Also,

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<sup>65</sup> *Dugranicia* I suppose to be *Dobronicha*, or *Ragusa*; and (†) is testimony to the origin of the Cathari is well worthy of notice.

that the Trinity, namely, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, is not one God; but that the Father is greater than the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Also, that each principle, or each God, created his own angels, and his own world; and that this world, and all that is in it, was created, made, and formed by the evil God. Also, that the Devil and his angels ascended into heaven, and having there fought with the Archangel Michael, an angel of the Good God,<sup>66</sup> he withdrew from thence a part of the creatures of God, and infuses them daily into the bodies of men, and brutes, and even from one body to another, until the said creatures are restored to heaven. These creatures of God, are called, according to them, 'the people of God,' and 'souls and sheep of the house of Israel,' and by other names. Also, that the Son of God, did not really assume human nature of the Virgin Mary, but one like him, whom they state to have been an Angel; and that he did not truly eat, and drink, nor truly suffer, nor was dead and buried, nor was his resurrection true, but only supposed, as we read of himself, 'being, as was supposed the Son of Joseph.' In like manner of all the miracles which Christ wrought. Also, that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Moses and many others of the ancient fathers, and St. John the Baptist, were enemies of God, and servants to the Devil. Also, that the Devil was author of the whole of the Old Testament, except these books—namely, Job, the Psalms, the books of Solomon, of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and the twelve Prophets; of which some were written in heaven, namely, those which were written before the destruction of Jerusa-

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<sup>66</sup> The text stands thus, "quod Diabolus cum suis angelis ascendit in cœlum, et facto ibidem prælio cum Michaelæ Archangelo, Angelus boni Dei extraxit inde etiam partem creaturarum Dei"—but, I suppose, that what I have given is the meaning.



lem, which they believe to be the heavenly. Also, that this world will never have an end. Also, that the Judgment, is already past, and that there will be no further Judgment. Also, that Hell, and eternal fire, or eternal punishment, are in this world, and not elsewhere. Thus, indeed, all the Albanenses in general held the above-mentioned opinions, at the period referred to; except the more simple, to whom some of these things were not revealed."

Reinerius then goes on to detail, at great length, the opinions of John of Lyons, which he extracted from a "certain great book, of the said John," which he tells us that he had read. It is not, however, to our purpose to investigate the peculiar errors of an individual and his followers; especially as it will appear that those peculiarities were not adopted by that portion of the sect, with which we are concerned. On the same ground we may pass over what he says of the peculiarities of the Church of the Concorenzes, and Bagnolenses—our business is with the *Albigenses*; and with regard to these, he says,

"In the last place, observe, that the Cathari of the Church of THOULOUSE, and the Concorezenses, hold the errors of Gelosimaza and of the Albanenses; and *all the churches of Cathari beyond sea* do the same. No church of the Cathari, however, agrees in all points with the Cathari of the Church of Concorezo. The church of France agrees with the Bagnolenses. Those of the Marquisate of Trevisano, Tuscany, and the Valley of Spoleto, agree with the Bagnolenses, on more points than with the Albanenses, but are gradually influenced by the Albanenses. Also, all the churches of the Cathari, mutually



receive each other, though they have different and contrary opinions; and the Concorezenses, who condemn each other as has been before stated. If, however, any Catharist, male or female, of whatever sect, does not confess these particular doctrines, or at least those that are common, then we may say of him, that he speaks lies in hypocrisy; (which, according to the Apostle, who prophesied this in the most undisguised manner concerning them, is a characteristic of the Cathari) even if he is a simple man as a novice; otherwise in many of their sects, their secrets are by no means revealed.<sup>67</sup>

I cannot help thinking, that the remainder of this chapter is an interpolation; as indeed, Gretser suggests, and as seems obvious enough, with respect to the latter part of it. After what I have extracted, comes an account of the *Pat-terini* (not as Reinerius had hitherto uniformly, and I believe, more properly, called them *Pa-trini*) and of whom, he had already spoken, referring those who wished for farther information, to the work of Brother Tonson. After that, we have an account of the Manichæans; and then a rambling account of various heresies, such as may frequently be found in early writers on heresy, and which was sometimes, I apprehend, added by the transcriber, to make the work more complete. With these facts, however, if genuine,

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<sup>67</sup> Et sive fuerit homo simplex, ut novitius."—Perhaps we ought to read "nisi." The meaning seems, probably, that a simple novice might be ignorant of these things, and, therefore, might not be guilty of speaking lies in hypocrisy if he did not confess them.

we should have nothing at present to do; because, our object is, to take the evidence of Reinerius, respecting the Albigenses, which he has given plainly and fully. If this passage is genuine, and he distinguished between the Cathari and the Manichæans (which the reader will observe, that he does not at the beginning of his third chapter, where he does not acknowledge the existence of the Cathari at all, unless he means them by the *Manichæans*) it would be unfair to give it under his name; and for my own part, I believe, that it is not his, but the work of some person who intended to describe the Cathari, but who knew less, or confessed more, of them, than Reinerius did. Some part of it is, however, so far confirmed by, and illustrative of, the Book of Sentences, that I shall give an extract in a note; and refer the reader for the rest of it, to the authorities.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> “ Holy water they execrate as poison; saying, that  
 “ if any man of their sect should be sprinkled with it, it  
 “ ought to be got out of his flesh with pins and probes.  
 “ They say, that pilgrimages beyond sea, or to the churches  
 “ of saints, have no other effect than to tire men with vainly  
 “ running about. They call the church of Rome a harlot;  
 “ whence they speak against the Lord Pope, the Bishops,  
 “ the Priests, and the Catholic clergy, calling themselves  
 “ the church of God, and them the seducers of the world.  
 “ A Bishop of their sect is thus set apart—they take a male  
 “ child, as soon as he is born, before he has tasted his



The *seventh* and *eighth* chapters, are as follow—

“ Heretics are distinguished by their manners, and their words; for they are sedate, and modest, in their

“ mother’s milk, and bring him up with milk of almonds,  
 “ *et pecudis* [which seems, by what follows, to be a mistake  
 “ —but, I know not what to suggest, except *pulmentis*,  
 “ which signifying properly, pottage made of vegetables, is  
 “ certainly, a thing very likely to be meant] and at length,  
 “ with fish. Care is taken, however, that he shall never  
 “ taste flesh, nor things made of milk (*lactinia*) nor any-  
 “ thing that is produced by generation. When, at length,  
 “ he arrives at years of discretion, he is Bishop of the  
 “ Sect, for the time being.

“ Moreover, when the believers assemble in a secret  
 “ place, they fall down before the said Bishop, on their  
 “ knees, adoring him, and say, ‘ Spare us, Lord’ (*Parce*  
 “ *nobis Domine*) and each adds these words in German,

“ ‘ Nimmer musse ich ersterben

“ ‘ Ich musse umb euch erwerben

“ ‘ Dasz mein End gut werde.’

“ ‘ I can never die, without obtaining from you that I  
 “ may have a good end;’ and he, laying his hands on  
 “ each, says these words thrice, over each of those who  
 “ are adoring, ‘ *Du werdest ein gut Mann*’—‘ You shall be  
 “ a good man.’ They offer no hope of salvation to their  
 “ believers, unless, having given up all things, they are  
 “ converted to their sect; or, at least, receive imposition  
 “ of hands from them, in their last moments; for they  
 “ say, that all sins are remitted, and the Holy Spirit in-  
 “ fused, by the imposition of hands, which they make.  
 “ And this they endeavour to prove, by that authority of  
 “ the Acts, ‘ Then they laid hands on them, and they re-



manners. They have no pride in clothes, for they wear such as are neither costly, nor mean. They do not carry on business, in order to avoid falsehoods, oaths, and frauds; but only live by labour, as workmen. Their teachers also are shoemakers, and weavers. They do not multiply riches, but are content with what is necessary; and they are chaste, especially the Leonists. They are also temperate in meat and drink. They do not go to taverns, dances, or other vanities. They restrain themselves from anger, they are always at work, learning, or teaching, and so they pray but little. Also, they go hypocritically to Church, offer, and make confession, and communicate, and they go to sermons, but it is that they may catch the preacher in his discourse.

“They may also be known by the precision, and moderation of their language. They also abstain from scurrility, and detraction, and levity in discourse, and lying, and swearing. Neither do they say, ‘verily,’ or ‘truly,’ and the like; because, they consider these as oaths. Also, they very seldom give a direct answer to a question.” If, for instance, they are asked, ‘Do you know

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“ceived the Holy Ghost;” when, however, they wish to “receive any one who is at the point of death, they give him his option, whether he will be in the Kingdom of Heaven, with those Saints who are Martyrs, or with those who are Confessors. If he prefers the state of the Martyrs, they shut the door, and then strangle him with a cloth appropriated to that use, which is called in German, *Bntertuch* [so it stands, I presume, for *Bintertuch*, or *Binder-tuch*, a bandage]. If he chooses that of the Confessors, then, after the imposition of hands, they give him nothing to eat, nor [anything but] pure water to drink, and so destroy him with hunger.”

the Gospel, or the Epistles ?' they answer, ' Who should have taught me those things ?' or they say, ' Persons of great and profound understanding, or those who have leisure, and ability for it, ought to know such things as these'—or they say,.....<sup>69</sup> is lawful for them ; because, Christ said to the Jews, ' Destroy this Temple,' meaning the Temple of his body, and they understood the Temple of Solomon. They also say, ' yea, yea, nay, nay.'

*How they introduce themselves to the  
acquaintance of the great.*

Chap. VIII.

" The heretics craftily devise, how they may introduce themselves to the acquaintance of the noble, and the great ; and they do it in the following manner—they exhibit to gentlemen and ladies, some kind of tempting wares, such as rings, and kerchiefs, for sale. Having sold them, if he is asked, ' Have you anything more to sell ?' he answers, ' I have more precious gems than these—I will give them to you, if you will satisfy me, that you will not betray me to the clergy.' Having received security, he says, ' I have a brilliant gem from God, whereby, man may have the knowledge of God. I have another, which shines so, that it kindles the love of God in the heart of him who possesses it ;' and so of the others. He speaks of gems, metaphorically. After that, he recites some devout chapter, as that of Luke, ' The Angel Gabriel was sent,' &c.—or, from our Lord's discourse, John, xiii. ' Now before the Feast,' &c. When he has begun to interest his hearer,

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<sup>69</sup> It appears as if something was omitted in the text, which stands, " vel qui ad hoc sunt otiosi vel idonei vel dicunt sibi licere quia Christus dixit," &c.



he adds, Matt. xxiii. 'in Moses' seat,' &c. 'Woe unto you, who have taken away the key of knowledge, ye enter not in yourselves, and ye forbid others to enter;' and that of Mark, xii. 'Woe unto you who devour widows' houses;' and what follows. When asked by his hearer, of whom these imprecations are to be understood? he answers, 'The clergy and the monks.'

"After this, the heretic draws a comparison between the circumstances of the Romish Church and those of his sect; saying thus, 'The Doctors of the Romish Church are proud in their dress and carriage,' Matt. xxiii. They love the chief seats, and seek to be called of men Rabbi,—but such Rabbies we do not desire to have. Also, they are incontinent; but each one of us has his wife, and lives chastely with her. Also, they are the rich and covetous, to whom it is said, Woe unto you rich, for ye have received your consolation; but we, having food, and clothes to cover us, are content therewith. Also, they are the voluptuous, to whom it is said, 'Woe unto you who devour widows' houses;' we, however, live as we can. Also, they fight, and make wars, and command the poor to be killed and burned, to whom it is said, 'He that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword; we, however, suffer from them persecution for righteousness. Also, they eat the bread of idleness, doing nothing; but we work with our hands. Also, they wish to be the only teachers—to whom it is said, Matt. xxiii. 'Woe unto you that have taken away the key of knowledge;' but among us women teach as well as men; and a disciple of seven days instructs another. Also, there is hardly a teacher among them who knows by heart three connected chapters of the New Testament; but, among us, there is scarcely a man or woman, who cannot repeat the text in the vulgar tongue. And, because we have the true faith of Christ, and all teach a holy life and doctrine, the Scribes and Pharisees, without cause, persecute us to



death, as they did Christ. Moreover, they only say, and do not, and bind heavy burdens on men's shoulders, but do not move them with their finger; but we practise all that we teach. Also, they are more urgent, in compelling the observance of the traditions of men, than the commandments of God—as fasts, festivals, going to Church, and many other things, which are of human institution—but we only persuade men to keep the doctrine of Christ, and the Apostles. Also, they load penitents with most grievous penances, which they do not move with one of their fingers; but we, by the example of Christ, say to the sinner, ‘Go, now, and sin no more,’ and remit all his sins by the imposition of hands, and transmit souls at death to heaven; but they send almost all souls to hell.

“Having stated these and other points, the heretic says, ‘Consider which state and which faith is the more perfect—ours, or that of the Church of Rome—and make choice of it;’ and thus he is turned away from the Catholic faith, being seduced by their errors; and thus, as a believer of them, a receiver, a favourer, and defender, and hiding him for several months, he learns respecting the sect in his house.”<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> These extracts from Reinerius, I translated from the text as it stands in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*; and it was not until they were almost entirely printed, that I had the power of comparing them with the “*Summa Fratris Reuerii*.” This work, which is an abridgement of the other, contains some various readings, which are worthy of notice; and which I propose to print, with the text of Reinerius among the Authorities. In the mean time, I would just state that the “*Johannes de Lugduno*,” or John of Lyons, mentioned p. 426, 428, 430, stands in the *Summa*, as *Johannes de Lugio*; and the Church, which in deference to the margin, I have denominated “of Cahors,” stands (no doubt more correctly) “of Carcassone.” In the passage, extracted at p. 430, instead of “the Church of Thoulouse, and the Concorezensens,” the *Summa* reads, “of Thoulouse, of Albi, and of Carcassone.”

The *ninth* chapter, is on the mode of examining, and the *tenth*, on that of punishing, heretics—but, as I do not perceive that these chapters contain anything new, or anything that would contradict (though perhaps, some things which would confirm) what has been already stated, and as these extracts have now extended to so great a length, I pass them over.

*Stephanus de Borbone.* A. D. 1261.

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The testimony of this writer relates only to the Waldenses, and I mention him here merely to remind the reader of some points which have been already stated. By turning to p. 128, it will be seen that he expressly states, that they were called Valdenses from “the first author of this heresy,” whom he describes as a rich citizen of Lyons, named Valdensis—that he professes to have been personally acquainted with the priest who had been employed by Waldo to write down the translation of the Gospels, and to have derived his knowledge of the origin of the sect from him, as well as from many others who had seen the earlier followers of Waldo—and he also tells us, that he had often seen the person who dictated the translation, which his friend the priest was employed to write.

*William of Puy-Laurens.* A. D. 1271.

This writer, so called from a little town of Languedoc, three leagues from Castres, of which he was a native, was chaplain to Raymond the younger, Count of Thoulouse.<sup>71</sup> He composed a Chronicle, containing a history of the Albigensian Crusades; thinking, as he says, that it was meet to leave to posterity, some account of the things which he had either actually seen, or learned from immediate information.<sup>72</sup> His language sufficiently shews, that he considered the Albigenes and the Waldenses as distinct, and even opposed, sects of heretics—he says,

“And there were some Arians, some Manichæans, and also, some Waldenses or Men of Lyons; who, although disagreeing among themselves, yet all conspired against the catholic faith, to the destruction of souls; and indeed those Waldenses disputed most sharply against the others.”

*Petrus de Pilichdorf.* A. D. 1395.

It was my intention to have given an account of this writer's book against the Wal-

<sup>71</sup> Morery in v. Puy-Laurens.

<sup>72</sup> To the work itself, I have not at present access; and, for this quotation, I have to thank the same friend, who favoured me with the extract from the History of the Monastery of Vezelai.



denses (which was published by Gretser, and which the reader may find in the Bib. Pat. Tom. IV. P. III. 778) because it has often been referred to in this controversy; but, beside that he is a writer of later date, than those to whom I proposed to confine myself on the present occasion, I do not know, that we could learn much from him, that has not been already stated, and I fear that I have, by this time, tired the reader with extracts which necessarily contain so much repetition—I content myself, therefore, with saying, that as far as I can see, it is entirely *Waldensian*—I find in it no charge of Manichean heresy, or any allusion to those doctrines, or rites, which have been already stated as characteristic of the Albigenses; and I therefore transcribe only what he says of the origin of the Sect.

“The rise and origin of the Waldensian heretics was this; although the sons of iniquity deceive the simple, saying, that their sect has existed from the time of Pope Sylvester—namely, when the Church began to have property of its own. This, the heresiarchs consider as unlawful, because, the Apostles of Christ were commanded to live without property, Matt. x. ‘Provide neither gold nor silver,’ &c. [after refuting the opinion he proceeds] They lie, therefore, when they say that their sect has existed from the time of Pope Sylvester. Whence we must observe, that about eight hundred years after Pope Sylvester, in the time of Pope Innocent II.<sup>73</sup> there was a cer-

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<sup>73</sup> That is, between 1130 and 1143, which is an earlier date, I believe, than is assigned by any other writer. If he had not calculated

tain rich man in the city of Walden, which is in France, who either read or heard that our Lord had said to the young man, Matt. xix. 'If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor;' and when he went away sorrowful, because he was rich, having many possessions, the Lord said, 'How hardly shall a rich man enter into the kingdom of heaven'—and again, 'It is much easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven'—and, a little farther on, Peter said to our Lord, 'Lo! we have left all and followed thee.' When Petrus Waldensis heard or read this scripture, he thought that the apostolical life was not to be found in the world, and therefore proposed to renew it; and having sold all things, and given to the poor, he began to live a life of poverty; which some other persons seeing, they were pricked to the heart, and did likewise. Among these, one who was called John, and who belonged to Lyons, joined himself to the said Peter.

"When they had remained a long time in poverty, they began to think that the Apostles of Christ were not only poor men, but preachers, and they began themselves to preach the Word of God. News of this having reached Rome, the Pope commanded that it should cease; because the preaching of the Word of God is not suitable for uneducated, and illiterate, persons. They refused to obey; as if the Court of Rome had forbidden them out of envy. This being discovered, the Church excommunicated them; and, they contumaciously resisting, the Church condemned them; and, as they did not then dare to preach openly, they preached only secretly. Wherefore they began, out of hatred to the Clergy and Priesthood, from the errors of ancient heretics, with new and damnable articles super-

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the time from the period of Pope Sylvester, one would have supposed that it was a mistake of the writer, or transcriber, for Innocent III.



added, to destroy, and condemn, and reprobate all things (except only the sacraments) by which the clergy, like a pious mother collects her sons, as a hen gathers her chickens under her wings—whose errors, with some refutation of them, will appear in the sequel.

“ When, however, they had long preached clandestinely, and had thus seduced many from the communion of the faithful to their sect, under a false pretence of sanctity, they thought that their preaching was of no use, unless they also scrutinized the consciences of their believers, by hearing confessions, enjoining penance, and absolving from sins. And since their believers have seen, and daily see, that they are distinguished by external sanctity, and that a great part of the Priests of the Church are, alas! devoted to sensual vices, they believe that they can be better absolved from their sins by them, than by the Priests of the Church. And unless the mercy of God shall vouchsafe to inspire the Prelates of the Church with greater vigilance, it is to be feared that they will usurp to themselves still greater power. For it has been newly discovered, that a certain heresiarch, although he was merely a layman, made, as he thought, the body of Christ, and himself and several of his accomplices, communicated; though for this he was somewhat blamed by the other heresiarchs.”

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Notwithstanding the very positive manner in which the contrary is asserted by various modern writers, I cannot help feeling some confidence, that the reader will consider the facts, and documents, which have been laid before him, as fully proving the two points which I stated at



page 137—namely, that the Albigenses, and Waldenses, were distinct sects, differing essentially in doctrine, and rites; and that, whatever opinion we may form of the latter, the former were either hypocritical impostors, or misguided fanatics. I do not pretend to have produced all that might be collected on the subject, because, all the sources of information were not within my reach—but, I can truly say, that I have not suppressed, and that, as far as I know, there does not exist, any statement, in any early writer, which would impugn those already given, on any material point. To say the truth, however, (while I am fully sensible, that the most valuable part of my book, is not that which I have written myself) I am much more afraid of being blamed for giving too much, than too little, from authors whom persons of taste may consider as tedious, and inelegant, and whom I have conscientiously translated with barbarous fidelity. My endeavour has been “*verbum reddere verbo*,” as a faithful interpreter; and, I have seldom permitted any conceit of style, any rule of grammar, or even any remonstrance of common sense, to divert me from that purpose—feeling, that my humble office was not to make others speak well, or wisely; but to report what they said—not to transmute nonsense into sense, but to translate Latin (or what, by a very extended courtesy, is so called) into English,—and though,

I cannot but suppose, that in doing this, I have fallen into many mistakes, which I shall be thankful to have corrected, yet, I will beg the reader, in case he should have met with anything that is ungrammatical, ambiguous, or unintelligible, to turn to the authority before he condemns me. While fully aware, however, that the circumstances which I have mentioned, might prevent these extracts from being attractive to some readers, still, when I reflected, that a few words, picked out from various authors, and common-placed in support of an opinion, was infinitely less satisfactory to myself, than a copious extract, giving the context—and also, that some of the books, from which these extracts are made, are not in the hands of many who may see them referred to in the popular works on the Prophecies, or the Vaudois—I could not persuade myself to abridge them—especially, considering (as a certain writer said of his book) that the reader may make them as short as he pleases.

To this section I will add a few remarks on some of the names of heretics already repeatedly mentioned; but which I could not make as those names occurred, without anticipating what was to follow, in a manner which could scarcely have been made intelligible.

I. PAULICIANS.—Whatever doubt there may be, about the origin of the name, it seems sufficiently clear, that they considered themselves, as in an especial manner, the disciples of *St. Paul*. That they denied the real incarnation of Christ, has been already stated<sup>74</sup>—but, is any farther light thrown on their name, and doctrine (as well as on the extraction of the Albigenses) by the statement of Peter of Vaux-Sernai, that the latter sect maintained that Christ never was in the world, “except spiritually *in the body of St. Paul*?”<sup>75</sup>

Again, we have seen that Evervinus states them to have obtained their idea that spiritual baptism consisted in the imposition of hands, from the account of *St. Paul's baptism*, in which there is no mention of water;<sup>76</sup> and I feel pretty certain that I have somewhere read (though I cannot at present recollect, or find, where) that they were said to represent their imposition of hands, as *the baptism of St. Paul*; meaning thereby, not only that it was such as he received, but such as he administered.

II. PATARENES—or, as the word is variously

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<sup>74</sup> See p. 68.

<sup>75</sup> See before, p. 393. They grounded it, I presume, on St. Paul's words, “yet not I, but Christ liveth in me.” Gal. iii. 21.

<sup>76</sup> See p. 347.



written, *Patrini*, *Patarini*, *Patareni*, *Paterini*. Of this name, various etymologies have been offered; but I have not met with any which appears satisfactory. That which the reader has already seen, in the Edict of the Emperor Frederick (p. 206), and which supposes the name to have been given, or assumed, with reference to their *sufferings*, has been, perhaps, most generally adopted. But, whatever might be the case afterwards, had they been so eminently distinguished by their sufferings in the twelfth century? Were they a class of persons likely to have framed, or obtained, a newly-made name of learned derivation? and was it, in fact, a name which would distinguish them from other sects who suffered with them? Du Cange, on the word, gives two other etymologies—one, which derives the name from a heretic of Rome, called *Paternus* (which is, perhaps, as satisfactory as Morland's referring the Arnaldistæ, Speronistæ, Josepini, and Henriciani, to his "Barbes, or ancient pastors of, or belonging to, the evangelical churches of the valleys of Piedmont—Mr. Arnaldo, Mr. Esperrone, Mr. Josepho, Mr. Henrico") and another, which supposes the heretics to have received their name from their using the *Pater Noster*.

Being unable to find anything more satisfactory, I will take the liberty to offer a conjecture. The reader may have remarked, that in the Lateran Council of 1179 (which is the earli-

est notice that I remember to have seen of any *such* heretics under any of these names) and, also, in the work of Reinerius Saccho, who seems to have known more of the sect than any other writer whom I have met with, the name stands *PATRINI*. It seems, therefore, probable that this is the most correct; and, if so, is it necessary to hunt after an etymology at all? May we not take the word in its plain, and obvious, meaning? I imagine that it properly belonged (like the other names of sects) to the *perfecti*<sup>77</sup>—or to such as were actually initiated, in contra-distinction to the *credentes*, or believers—that is, in this case, (as we have seen from the various accounts of their rites) to those who, as they termed it, *received* others, in what they called their *baptism*—and what does *Patrinus* mean, but the person who *receives* another in *baptism*, that is, a Godfather, or Sponsor?<sup>78</sup> The spiritual affinity, which the Church of Rome supposed to arise

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<sup>77</sup> “Thus, the reader will perceive, that in the Book of Sentences, the persons who were punished for heresy, were not called “heretics,” unless they belonged to the class of *perfecti*. In like manner, the title of *Valdensis*, is only given to the leaders of the sect, or, as they were also called, the *Perfecti*. Reinerius makes the same distinction, when he says, that there were less than four thousand *Cathari*, but innumerable *credentes*. See p. 428.

<sup>78</sup> “*PATRINUS*, Ἀνάδοχος, Sponsor, qui levat aliquem de sacro fonte, vel intromittit in ecclesiam,” &c. *Du Cange*.

from this act, and which was at one time, very inconveniently extended to various degrees of direct and indirect paternity, compaternity, and confraternity, is sufficiently known; and is it improbable, that the members of this sect, should transfer the idea, and the title, to those who *received* them in their *baptism*? There is something analogous in the titles of those who held the second and third rank among their teachers, and who, as we have seen, were called the elder, and the younger, *Sons*; and this idea of spiritual affinity, expressed in terms of natural relationship, prevailed among the Waldenses, who, at a later period, called their pastors *Barbes*. Was it not even more natural for the Albigenses to call their teachers *Godfathers*, than for the Waldenses to give to their's the title of *Uncle*?<sup>79</sup>

Mosheim suggests that the Paterines of Italy received their name from this sect. I cannot say that I see reason to believe this; though, under all the circumstances, it is likely enough that the names should be confounded, as, I believe, they actually were. It is, however, of no importance to our present enquiry, for we are only looking for the derivation of the name, which he admits

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<sup>79</sup> “ Si le lecteur me demande maintenant ce qui signifie ce nom de *Barbe*, je luy répons que c'est à dire *Oncle*; de sorte que d'appeller un Pasteur *Barbe* c'estoit l'appeller *Oncle*.” Leger. Hist. Lib. i. c. xxxii. p. 105.



to have belonged originally to the Manicheans.<sup>80</sup> The question, therefore, is, how did they come by it?

III. PASSAGINI, or PASSAGII. Fleury says, "Leur nom semble venir du Grec *Pasagios*, *Tout-saint*,"<sup>81</sup> and the same unsatisfactory, not to say absurd, etymology has been given by others. Du Cange offers none. Spanheim says, "*Passa-gieri*, quod de loco in locum transirent, migrarent."<sup>82</sup> This is, perhaps, nearer the truth; but I cannot think that they derived their name merely from their wandering course of life. Having seen reason to believe that their introduction into Europe was very principally at the time, and by the means of, the Crusades, I am inclined to suppose that they got their name from their connexion with the *Passagia*, as those expeditions were commonly called by contemporary writers.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>80</sup> SÆC. XI. P. II. Ch. II. §. 13.

<sup>81</sup> Liv. LXXVIII. §. 55. Vol. xv. p. 530.

<sup>82</sup> Hist. Christ. SÆC. XII. Cap. vi. §. 3. col. 1596.

<sup>83</sup> Du Cange cites Jacobus de Vitriaco, "Fecit treugas usque ad magnum *Passagium*." Sanutus, of Peter the Hermit, "Deinde per illas partes transcurrens, et ad *passagium* cunctorum corda succendens;" and the Will of Charles the Fair, "Je laisse a la Terre Sainte 50 mille livres a payer et delivrer quant *passage* general se fera,

IV. ARNALDISTÆ. I do not remember to have seen it noticed that the leader of heretics, mentioned by Evervinus, as having been burned at Cologne, was named *Arnold*; but it is mentioned by Eckbert, in his eighth discourse, where he calls him the Archicatharus.

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“et este mon entente que se le *passage* se faisoit en mon  
 “vivant, de y aler en ma personne.” In the Book of  
 Sentences we find one which was passed on Magister  
 Guillermus Garricus of Carcassone, Professor of Law;  
 who, beside being guilty of heretical practices, had been  
 detected in a conspiracy with some other persons to get  
 possession of the books of the Inquisition, in order to  
 destroy them; and who had also been frequently rebellious,  
 and disobedient to the Inquisition. For these offences  
 he was ordered to serve in the next crusade, either personally  
 or by substitute, so long as it should seem good to the  
 Inquisitors—“in primo generali *passagio* tenearis  
 “personaliter transfretare. . . . . aut si legitime fueris in-  
 “peditus, tenearis transmittere loco tui sufficientem et  
 “ydoneum bellatorem in subsidium terra sancte tuis sump-  
 “tibus et expensis. Medio vero tempore ante *passagium*,  
 “predictum,” &c. p. 284.

## SECTION XII.

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### ON THE RELIGIOUS CHARACTER OF THE ALBIGENSES AND WALDENSES.

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UNLESS we wholly reject the testimonies adduced, especially those extracted from the Book of Sentences, we must admit that some of the doctrines and rites of the Albigenses, were as contrary to the word of God as the worst superstitions of Popery; and shall feel some little sorrow, if not disgust, at hearing those who held and practised them, set forth as the salt of the earth, the holy martyrs of Christ, the predicted witnesses, who maintained the pure truth of God in a great Antichristian Apostacy—but can we fairly reject all these concurrent testimonies? or can we suppose that they are pure fictions, or in general, and to any material degree, false?

As to their being pure fictions, I think that no one can imagine it, who seriously and dispassionately considers them; and that they are only misrepresentations of what was really good and



holy, is more than I can believe—the rather because in all the confessions (where so much is intentionally stated, so much incidentally mentioned, and from which so much that is not stated, may be inferred) I do not find anything that looks as if the Albigenses were at all more religious than their neighbours, or as if it was the object of their teachers to make them so. It is true, that a great many of those who confessed, seem to have been simple and ignorant people, who remembered more about the salutations, bowings, and genuflexions, which they saw, than about the doctrines which they heard;<sup>1</sup> but yet they

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<sup>1</sup> The object being to investigate heretical pravity, the actual belief of the party confessing, and its degree, and duration, appear to have been uniformly matters of enquiry. Some of those who make confessions, speak on this point with amusing simplicity. *Guilielmus*, 220, says, “quando audiebat verba hereticorum, et vitam quam  
“ducebant, erat in dubitatione et errore; et in istis per-  
“severabat aliquando per mensem, aliquando per quin-  
“denam, et aliquando statim recedebat a dicta creden-  
“cia.”—*Poncius*, 196, “per aliquos annos stetit in dubio  
“utrum heretici haberent bonam fidem, et bonam sectam,  
“et in parte credebat hoc, et in parte non credebat, donec  
“fuit coram Petro Auterii heretico Tholose, et tunc sim-  
“pliciter credidit hereticos esse bonos homines, et veraces,  
“et habere bonam fidem, et bonam sectam, in qua ipsi et  
“credentes ipsorum possent salvari, et fuit in dicta cre-  
“dencia quamdiu stetit cum dicto Petro Auterii heretico,  
“et recessit a dicta credencia eadem die postquam reces-  
“serat ab heretico.”

were in number nearly five hundred, and many did remember, and repeat, something of what they had heard—they repeated it under circumstances which would naturally lead them to make it as religious as they could ; while, at the same time, they did not scruple to repeat what was most offensive to their persecutors, and what was really most heretical and blasphemous—and it is strange that, with all this, not one should lead us to know, either by statement or inference, that any Albigensian teacher, on any occasion, explained or enforced any scripture doctrine, or moral precept. I believe that the confession already given, No. xx. p. 312, is (if I may so speak) the most religious that can be found among those of the Albigenses.

I do not mean to say that we should have a right to expect a complete system of divinity, or a notice of all the doctrines of christianity. It is likely that, in general, neither the teachers nor the hearers were deep theologians ; but one might expect to find at least some notice, and rebuke, of the gross vices of the poor ; and that, if doctrinal discourse had been above their comprehension, or had escaped their memory, they would have recollected, and have been glad to repeat, something of this—some exhortations, for instance, against lying and stealing—some admonitions not to do or to speak evil—not to do to others what they would not that others should do



to them—something like this we might have expected, but nothing is, I believe, to be found.

If it be said, that such doctrines would have reflected credit upon the sect, and therefore, the malicious Inquisitor left them out, I would ask, how came he to put those things, which he maliciously suppressed in the confessions of the Albigenses, into those of the Waldenses? The points which I have stated, are very commonly to be found there; and it seems from many confessions, as if their teachers were in the habit of speaking to their disciples privately, and personally, on the subject of religion. For instance, Gerardus, 223, tells us, that “he saw at Mirauda, “ a certain man, whom he afterwards knew to be “ called Perrinus Wudri, who said to him apart, “ that he ought not to *swear*, nor *lie*, and many “ other things, among which, he told him to tell “ him his sins, but he would not tell; and afterwards, his father told him of that same Perrin, “ that he was a good man, and taught good “ doctrine” (*bona documenta*).—*Ysabellis*, 366, “ commended to Peter Michael, her son, two “ strangers, whom his said mother had received “ into her house, of whom she told her same son “ that they were good men, and taught people “ *not to do evil*.”—*Petrus*, 367, (being the son just mentioned, and having referred to those circumstances) adds, that, “ the year after the things “ aforesaid, he heard from his mother that some



“ of the said brethren were in the house of Guilielmus Garinus, and that he should go there to see them. And he went, and found there two men, of whom Helys, the wife of Guilielmus Garinus, told him that one of them was called Perrinus Clericus, and the name of the other he did not know. And she commended them that they were good men. And the aforesaid two men admonished him that he should not *say or do evil, or do to any one what he would not have done to himself*. And that he should not *lie, nor swear* ; because, in every case, it was a mortal sin to swear. Also, another time..... he found two of the said brethren.....and heard their words, and admonitions, that he should *not say or do evil*, and that he should not *lie or swear*, because it was a great sin. Also, another time.....he heard the words and admonitions of the said Stephen, on *not doing evil, and not lying or swearing*.”—*Petrus*, 368, heard the words and admonitions of that man, *that he should not do nor say evil, nor swear and the like*. And they invited him to return to them the next night, and he promised them that he would return ; but he did not return, because he could not. And two or three days after, Helys, the mother of the said Huguetus Garinus, said to him, ‘ You made us wait a long while the other night.’ And then he asked her ‘ Who that man was ?’ And she told him that

“ he was called Bartholomew, and came from  
 “ Caiarcum, and commended him that he was  
 “ a good man, and holy ; and if he would believe  
 “ him, he would teach him how he might save his  
 “ soul. And then he said to the said woman,  
 “ ‘ How could he be a good man when he did  
 “ not dare to go about publicly, but was even  
 “ lying hid ?’ And the said Helys said, that her  
 “ aforesaid son was much pleased with him.  
 “ Also, after the matters aforesaid, three or four  
 “ years before the time of his confession, Huga,  
 “ his mother told him, that two men were to  
 “ come to dinner at the house of her his mother,  
 “ and of Peter Carrot [his father], and commend-  
 “ ed the said men much, that they were good,  
 “ and called themselves brethren, and *taught to*  
 “ *do good and avoid evil.*”<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Beside these, many other instances might be ad-  
 duced—*Bertrandus*, 238, “ *audivit ab eisdem quod homo*  
*non debebat mentiri nec jurare.*”—*Johanna*, 343, “ *quod*  
*non faceret nec diceret malum nec juraret, quia jurare erat*  
*peccatum, et plura alia verba que videbantur sibi bona,*  
*de quibus dixit se non recordari.*”—*Jacobus*, 345, “ *quod*  
*homo non debebat facere, nec dicere, malum.*”—*Helyas*,  
 353, “ *quod homo non debebat facere, nec dicere, malum,*  
*nec mentiri, nec jurare.*”—*Stephanus*, 354, “ *quod non*  
*faceret, nec diceret, malum ; nec mentiretur, nec juraret.*”  
*Johanna*, 356, says, “ *post aliqua verba communia monue-*  
*runt eam quod non faceret, nec diceret, malum ; et quod*  
*non mentiretur, nec juraret.*”—*Bernarda*, 358, says, “ *dic-*

These notices, though not so full as might be wished, contain abundantly more than is to be found in the Albigensian confessions, of which we have about five times the number; and there is, beside this, another very remarkable distinction. With the exception of the repetition of the Pater Noster, in the ceremony of *heretication*, I do not remember, that it is stated in any Albigensian confession, or can be in any way inferred, that any teacher, or disciple, of that sect—any one of either the *perfecti*, or *credentes*—ever offered a *prayer*. On the other hand, out of the ninety-two Waldensian confessions, prayer is not only mentioned in about sixty, but mentioned, in a way which shews that it was the common custom of the Waldensian teachers, to pray with their disciples, and to teach them to pray;<sup>3</sup> and one woman states, that having learned this cus-

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“tus Johannes de Cernone monuit eam quod non *faceret*,  
“*nec diceret, malum, nec juraret.*”—*Agnes*, 359, says,  
“post cenam, dictus Bartholomeus dixit quod orarent pro  
“illis qui dabant eis ad comedendum, et benefaciebant eis;  
“et postea sederunt, et dictus Bartholomeus dixit multa  
“verba que videbantur sibi bona, quod *facerent bonum, et*  
“*caverent a malo, et non mentirentur, nec jurarent, et quedam*  
“*alia de quibus non recordatur.*”

<sup>3</sup> See, particularly, No. xxiv. p. 324, before, and the extracts at p. 255. n. 36.



tom from the Waldenses, it was afterwards kept up in her family.<sup>4</sup>

With regard, however, to the Albigensian teachers, so far as I can perceive, their great object was to get persons to enter into an agreement, that they would send for them, when they should be at the point of death; and it does not appear, that they sought that opportunity for administering religious instruction, or consolation; for, unless the sick person was in extremity, they would have nothing to do with him. The object seems to have been simply to perform the ceremony of heretication; and, in a case already quoted, it appears to have formed no objection, that the patient was speechless, and, we may infer, insensible. In another case the ceremony was performed on an infant. *Alazayt*, 190, says, "Also, in the sickness of which a certain son of the said *Alazayt*, named *Johannetus*, died, being two years old, or thereabouts, her said mother asked her if she was willing that they should have *Peter Auterius*, the heretic, to receive the said child into his sect, and order; and the said *Alazayt* agreed that it would please

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<sup>4</sup> *Agnes*, 241, says, "Item ipsa et maritus suus servabant modum orandi predictum post cenam de sero, et aliquando de mane sicut viderant, dictum *Johannem* facientem."

“ her, and the said Peter Auterius was brought  
“ to the said child, in the house of Raymund Du-  
“ rand. And the heretic asked her the child’s  
“ name, and if she wished that he should receive  
“ him to his order, and save his soul? and she  
“ answered, that she did. And the said heretic  
“ told her, that, from the time when he should  
“ have received him, she must not give him any  
“ flesh, or cheese, or eggs, or any animal fat  
“ (*pinguedinem carniū*) and, afterwards, the  
“ said heretic read in a certain book, and received  
“ the said child, who survived three or four  
“ days.”

The reader has, however, had so much about the *convenensa*, *heretication*, and *endura*, that I need not enlarge on the nature of those rites; but it may well be asked, how they originated, and what was their object?—what could men in their senses propose by such unscriptural, unreasonable, and cruel practices? We may readily suppose that the ignorant vulgar, prepared by the stultifying superstitions of popery, might be induced to believe anything that was taught them secretly, and with an air of mystery, by persons who were a degree more learned than themselves—but, could Peter Auterius really believe that he saved the souls of those whom he *hereticated*? If he did, surely I have not spoken too strongly in calling him a misguided fanatic;

and if he did not, why did he take such trouble, and run such hazard to do it? What motive can we assign for such an extraordinary proceeding?

I am much inclined to think that this *hereticating* was practised, by some at least, from sordid motives; and, that with them, it is to be traced to that which the Scripture declares to be the root of all evil—the love of money. With this they were certainly charged by their enemies; and I must say that there are some things in the Book of Sentences, which seem to give colour at least to that charge. It would be tiresome, and almost endless, to quote all the confessions which shew, that the followers of the heretics supplied them with money, food, clothes, &c. Those which relate to money only—and even to what must then have been considerable sums—are too numerous to be referred to. In one case, something like an annual subscription was promised,<sup>5</sup> and in another (as we have seen) a believer undertook to provide for the maintenance of a proselyte for one year.<sup>6</sup> From other confessions, it appears that the heretics had money

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<sup>5</sup> *Guilielmus*, 101, “concessit quod faceret eis bonum, “et daret eis quolibet anno unam eminam frumenti vel “valorem.”

<sup>6</sup> See before, No. XXIX. p. 341.



of their own, which they expended individually.<sup>7</sup>  
And one confession mentions the "money of the

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<sup>7</sup> *Bernardus*, 50, says, "Item in Monte Albano, de pecunia Petri Auterii, emit pannum virgatum (striped cloth) et fecit inde fieri supertunicale pro dicto heretico." —*Robertus*, 51, "semel portavit *iiii* libras *regalium*, et *parisiensium*, Bernardo Vin de Blat, ut cambiaret dictam pecuniam in *turonenses albis*, et dicta pecunia erat Petri Auterii heretici." —*Guilielmus*, 82, says, "quidam (quem nominat) portavit sibi, ex parte dicti Petri Auterii, pecuniam de qua emeret pelles pro folratura (furs for the lining) dicti supertunicalis." —*Bernarda*, 75, "Petrus Raymundi de Sancto Papulo hereticus, quadam vice, venit ad domum ipsius et viri sui, et bibit ibi, et dedit omnibus filiis et filiabus suis de pecunia sua. . . . . Bernardus Audoyne dedit sibi *xxv turonenses albos* et tradidit marito suo *denarios plicatos*, et consutos, in quodam panno, ad custodiendum, quod erant *denarii aurei*, quos postea recuperavit." —*Sibilia*, 21, says, "Jacobus Auterii predictus deposuit et abscondit in domo sua in quodam loco, quem sibi ostendit, *c turonenses argenteos* quos postquam Jacobus fuit captus ipsa redidit Petro Sancio de Garda." —*Perrinus*, 102, "semel emit pisces pro eis de pecunia quam dictus Sancetus tradidit sibi." —*Bernardus*, 197, "una vice emit panem, et alia vice fecit emi, pro dicto heretico de pecunia quam tradebat sibi dictus hereticus." —*Raymunda*, 108, ivit duabus vicibus intra dimidium annum ad loquendum cum Petro Raymundi. . . . . et fuit loquta cum eo specialiter de expeditione Bertrandi fratris ipsorum, qui tunc tenebatur captus Carcassone per Inquisitores; et, in ultima vice, dictus Petrus Raymundi tradidit sibi pecuniam usque ad *xxv libras*, pro expeditione dicti Bertrandi et

Church," as if they had a common fund.<sup>8</sup> From some confessions, also, it appears, that they lent money to their followers;<sup>9</sup> and there is one

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"dedit sibi amplius xx solidos."—*Petrus*, 68, "custodivit per xv dies, lx marabocinos auri et tres denarios aureos quos P. Raymundi de Sancto Papulo hereticus commendavit sibi, et postea recuperavit ab eodem."—*Arnaldus*, 125, "tenuit dictum Petrum Auterii hereticum in dicta borda in qua nunc morabatur, a Festo Beati Johannis usque ad sequentem mensem Augusti. . . . item dixit quod dictus Petrus Auterii dedit sibi tres turonenses argenti pro hostalagio quando recessit."—*Bernardus*, 152, "Petrus Sancii vidit aliquociens et fuit sibi loquutus et scambiavit sibi pecuniam." See also, *Petrus*, 83, No. x. p. 297, before.

<sup>8</sup> See before, p. 281.

<sup>9</sup> *Guilielmus*, 149, "quodam vice Tholosana Fizansa de Asso venit ad ipsum ad domum suam, ex parte Petri Sancii heretici predicti, dicens quod dictus hereticus mittebat ipsam pro hoc quod ipse Guilielmus sciebat, per quod dictus Guilielmus intellexit quod pro quadam pecunia quam sibi antea mutaverat [i. mutuaverat] seu acomodaverat hereticus. Et tunc dictus Guilielmus respondit dicte Tholosane, quod tunc non habebat in promptu; set in crastino vel in alia die sequenti, ipse portaret eam dicte Tholosane; et in crastino vel tertia die, dictus Guilielmus misit dicte Tholosane xxv solidorum regalium per quendam quem nominat."—*Finas*, 173, "portavit sibi agrestam (vinegar) et viii solidorum regalium, quos maritus suus debebat ei."—*Guilielma*, 22, "tradidit cuidam ad valorem xviii turonensium alborum in pecunia, ut redderet Bernardo Audonyni, cui debebat tempore quo recessit de ista patria."



case in which one of them seems to have borrowed.<sup>10</sup>

Looking at all this with impartiality, and putting on it a candid construction, there is, perhaps, nothing but what we might expect to find in the history of men who were living in a state of outlawry, secreted and maintained by followers who were attached to them. But still we are left to enquire, why they should have so principally concerned themselves with the dying, and should have required from them such abstinence as must have ensured their speedy dissolution. I am afraid their object was to obtain legacies; and there is a good deal in the Book of Sentences which confirms the idea. Raynaldus (on the authority of Peter of Vaux-Sernai) distinctly charges them with this—"legata corradebant a morituris quibus certissimam saltem pollicebantur," and there are a great many instances recorded among the sentences and confessions.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> *Raymundus*, 83, "stetit ibi cum eis loquendo de quadam pecunia quam debebat sibi Petrus Sancii, et de aliis verbis communibus.....et dictus Petrus Sancii solvit sibi aliquam pecuniam quam debebat."

<sup>11</sup> *Bernardus*, 89, "item dictus hereticus misit ipsum ad quendam locum, unde apportavit sibi quasdam vestes, de quibus audivit a dicto heretico, quod fuerunt cujusdam mulieris defuncte, quam dictus Raymundus receperat in fine ad ordinem suum; et dictas vestes ipse vendidit pro dicto heretico, et custodivit sibi pretium, et fecit



As to the *Waldenses*, I find nothing of the sort. That they, like the *Albigenses*, were sup-

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“ fieri supertunicale et capucium, de alio panno, pro dicto heretico.”—*Vesjada*, 94, “ vidit quando Raymunda Grana, soror dicti Raymundi Gach, tradidit dicto heretico IIII florenos, et tunicam dicti Raymundi Gach hereticati, que sibi legaverat predictus Raymundus Gach.”—*Bernarda*, 117, “ ad dictum seu verbum Johanne Gascha (sororis quondam dicti Bernardi mariti ipsius Bernarde) ipsa solvit quinque solidos Petro Sancii de Garda, de quibus postmodum credidit quod dictus maritus suus legasset eos hereticis.”—*Raymundus*, 129, “ dixit quod postea, ipse qui loquitur, tradidit cuidam persone XIII solidos regales quos dimiserat dictus infirmus dicto heretico.”—*Guilielmus*, 132, “ ipse Guilielmus solvit legatum post mortem uxoris quod fecerat hereticis.”—*Galharda*, 142, “ auditur a Raymundo Bertrici quod Petrus de Lantario, maritus suus, legaverat dicto Petro heretico XVIII solidos.”—*Bernarda*, 143, “ interfuit hereticationi Gulielme socrus sue, quam fecit Amelius hereticus, qui stetit in eadem domo aliquibus diebus pro dicta infirma hereticanda et ipsa servivit sibi, et ministravit necessaria, et ipsa audiente et presente, legavit dicta infirma heretico supertunicale suum et tunicam.”—*Michael*, 156, says, “ dictus pater suus legavit dicto heretico XX solidorum regaliū quos ipse Michael postea solvit.”—*Arnaldus*, 159, solvit eidem heretico partem legati quod mater sua fecerat hereticis.”—*Raymunda*, 171, “ tradidit sibi tres solidorum regaliū quos maritus suus legaverat Petro Auterii heretico.”—I feel no doubt that more instances might be adduced, but these are only such as I have observed among the *confessions*—those cases of legacy, mentioned in *sentences*, I have not noticed, because some of the deceased persons

ported at least in some degree, by their followers is evident, and six persons speak of having given money to them<sup>12</sup>—six, that they gave to, and received from, them<sup>13</sup>—and three, that they

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sentenced, certainly were those named, or alluded to, in the confessions; and though others clearly were not, yet as the testimony of the confessions seems to me quite sufficient, I have thought it better to let the sentences altogether alone, rather than to run the risque of getting some of the same persons twice over—an evil which could not be avoided, without more trouble than the matter is worth.

<sup>12</sup> “*Perrinus*, 231, “dedit duos *solidos* duobus Valdensibus una vice (l. vice) et alios duos *solidos* obtulit aliis duobus Valdensibus alia vice, licet ipsi noluerunt accipere.”—*Bertrandus*, 238, “semel dedit cuidam Valdensi v *solidorum* *regalium*.”—*Bartholomeus*, 355, “dedit Valdensibus, seu Pauperibus de Lugduno, de pecunia sua; aliquando sex *denarios*, aliquando XII, aliquando duos *solidos*; et hoc fecit per IIII<sup>or</sup> vices.”—*Jacqueta*, 376, “dicto Valdensi dedit unum *turonensem* *argenti*.”—*Guilielmus*, 237, “aliquibus ex eis dedit de pecunia sua.”—*Johannetus*, 238, “de pecunia sua dedit cuidam ipsorum, et cuidam alteri voluit dare, set ipse noluit recipere.”

<sup>13</sup> *Bernardus*, 216, and *Germanus*, 225, merely say, “dedit and recepit.”—*Uwardus*, 232 (see before, p. 322) “dedit aliquibus Valdensibus de pecunia sua, et recepit dono ab aliquibus ex eisdem *gavinetos*, et *acus*.”—*Stephanus*, 239, “pluries dedit de pecunia sua diversis Valdensibus, et recepit aliquando ab eis *cultellos* dono.”—*Guilielma*, 242, “dedit Valdensibus aliquid, et recepit ab

offered money which was refused.<sup>14</sup> Of legacies, I find no trace ; nor anything that could lead to the suspicion of cupidity.

In fact I have met with nothing which should lead to doubt that the early Waldenses were sincere and well meaning men ; and that if they retained some of the errors of the Church of Rome, and added some of their own, they were yet on the whole more enlightened, and more religious men, than their neighbours. It must, indeed, have struck the reader, that their descendants have taken a great deal of trouble to vindicate them from charges which their contemporaries never brought against them. Who, for instance, charged them with Manichæism—or, I might say, with almost any of the errors from which they are most anxious to defend themselves ? To be sure, if the modern Vaudois will tack themselves on to the Albigenses, and identify their ancestors with that sect, in order that they may boast about antiquity, they must, with the credit, take the disgrace of the pedigree which they claim ; but that they should, in order

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uno eorum acus.”—*Stephanus*, 354, “dedit quinque solidos  
“Caturcenses Johanni de Cernone Valdensis, et recepit  
“acus ab eodem.”

<sup>14</sup> *Perrinus*, 231, and *Johannetus*, 238 (see above, n. 12).  
—*Hugoninus*, 241, “semel voluit dare quidam Valdensi  
xii denarios, set ille noluit recipere.”



to gratify a silly vanity, contend, in the face of all history, that their ancestors were the Albigenses, and that the Albigenses were quite orthodox, is rather too much. The early history of the Waldenses is indeed involved in some obscurity; but it seems clear, beyond all reasonable doubt, that they owed their name, and their origin as a sect, to a citizen of Lyons, who lived in the latter half of the twelfth century. It appears also, that he caused the Scriptures to be translated into the vulgar tongue—that he and his immediate followers, drew upon themselves the censure and persecution of the church of Rome, not only by taking upon them the office of teaching, but by some of the doctrines which they taught—that, by means of this persecution, they were scattered over various parts of Germany, France and Lombardy, &c.—and that, having renounced the authority of the Romish See for that of the Scriptures, and rejected some rites of the Romish church which were grossly idolatrous or superstitious, they prepared the way for the Reformation, and were themselves prepared to embrace its doctrines.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Sleidan<sup>us</sup> says, very briefly, and, I believe, correctly,  
“Sunt in Provincia Gallia qui dicuntur Valdenses: hi  
“vetusta consuetudine neque Pontificem Romanum ag-  
“noscunt, et aliquanto puriorem habuere semper doc-

It was my intention to have entered at some length into the subject of the Waldensian doctrine, as developed in the extracts which I have given; but the extent to which this volume has already run, makes me anxious to omit whatever can be spared, and I will, therefore, at present, notice only two points respecting the Waldenses; and these with reference to their claim to the character of **THE WITNESSES**. It was this claim which led me to compile these pages; and against it I feel bound most earnestly to protest.

In the first place, it does not appear that Waldo, and his immediate followers, contemplated a separation from the church of Rome; but rather a revival of personal religion within its pale, and a removal of some abuses, and superstitions. Indeed, if we believe the writer already quoted (p. 398), it was their wish to form a new order under the sanction of the Romish See;<sup>16</sup> but, however this may be, it seems

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“trinam, et postquam Lutherus innotuit, amplio-  
 “nitionem avide sibi compararunt.” Comm. Lib. XVI.  
 an. 1545. p. 185.

<sup>16</sup> The anonymous author of the *Tractatus de Hæresi Pauperum de Lugduno*, which I could not obtain a sight of, until nearly all the foregoing pages were printed, says,  
 “Apud Lugdunum fuerunt quidam simplices laici, qui  
 “quodam spiritu inflammati et super ceteros de se præ-  
 “sumentes, jactabant se velle omnino vivere secundum  
 “evangelicam doctrinam, et illam ad litteram perfecte

clear from the statements, or (what is even more important) the silence, of their persecutors, and their own confessions (that is, from all the sources of information which we possess) that their opposition was not directed against some of the peculiar doctrines of the Romish church. Reinerius says, "they believe all things rightly concerning God, with all the articles which are contained in the creed;" and this, though Mr. Faber may triumphantly print it in capitals,<sup>17</sup> seems to me a very suspicious testimony from a Dominican Friar of the thirteenth century. Will any one believe, that an Inquisitor General of heretical pravity, would give such a character of any set

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"servare: postulantes a Domino Papa Innocentio III.  
 "hanc vivendi formam auctoritate sua sibi et suis sequa-  
 "cibus confirmari: adhuc recognoscentes primatum apud  
 "ipsum residere apostolicæ potestatis."—*Martene Thes.  
 Anecd. Tom. v. 1778.* Of this tract, and of some others  
 which accompany it, I know neither the date nor the au-  
 thority; but, if I had obtained possession of them earlier,  
 I should have said more about them in the present work.  
 I am not, however, aware that they contain anything  
 which can be considered as contradicting the opinions  
 which I have advanced, or the statements which I have  
 extracted, except on one point, which will be noticed pre-  
 sently; but, when I say this, I wish it to be understood,  
 that I have not given them that attention, which would  
 enable me to speak with confidence.

<sup>17</sup> See before, p. 417.



of men, who denied the doctrine of *transubstantiation*? Or that Petrus de Pilichdorf would have told us, that they condemned and reprobated "all things *except only the sacraments*?"<sup>18</sup> In truth, the charge of their enemies is, not that they denied transubstantiation; but, that they assumed to themselves, the power of transubstantiating. Thus the Council of Narbonne speaks of a "Waldensian supper, where, on the day of "the supper, the table being placed, and bread "put upon it, one Waldensian blessing, and "breaking, and giving to the by-standers, *believes, according to their damnable sect, that he "makes the body of Christ.*"<sup>19</sup> The account which Reinerius gives of their doctrine on this point, is, "that priests in mortal sin cannot consecrate "—also, they say *that transubstantiation does not "take place in the hand of him who unworthily "consecrates, but in the mouth of him who unworthily receives.*"<sup>20</sup> Peter of Vaux-Sernai charges it as one of their four principal errors, that they said, "that any individual of their sect, in case "of necessity, if he only had sandals, without "having received orders from a Bishop, *could "make the body of Christ.*"<sup>21</sup> In the Book of Sentences, John Philibert, 252, a priest, who has

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<sup>18</sup> Ib. p. 442.<sup>19</sup> Ib. p. 198.<sup>20</sup> Ib. p. 410.<sup>21</sup> Ib. p. 395.

been already mentioned<sup>22</sup> (and of whose degradation, and delivery to the secular arm, we have a very curious account) confessed, that "during his connexion with the Waldenses, he had *performed mass, and administered the Sacraments.*" Hugueta, 290, also stated in her confession, that "she believed, and had heard say by the Waldenses, that the said John of Lorraine, although he was not a priest, but a *majoralis* of the afore-said sect, *could celebrate mass.*" In the passage respecting the Waldenses, appended to the "*Disputatio inter Catholicum et Paterinum hæreticum,*"<sup>23</sup> it is stated, that "the said Poor Men of Lyons consecrate only once in a year, namely, in the Supper of the Lord; and then, towards night, he who is chief among them, if he is a priest, collects all his family, of either sex, causes a bench or table to be prepared before them, and covered with a clean table-cloth, on which they afterwards place a large cup of pure wine, and a cake of unleavened bread. After a while, he who presides says, 'Let us beseech our Lord, that he would forgive us our sins and our transgressions, for his mercy's sake—and

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<sup>22</sup> Ib. p. 265.

<sup>23</sup> This is one of the tracts already alluded to in note 16 (p. 468). The original of the passage will be found among the authorities.

“ would, for his mercy’s sake, fulfil those petitions, which we worthily offer—and that he may do these things, let us say the Pater Noster seven times, in honour of God, and of the Holy Trinity.’ And then, all kneeling down, say the Pater Noster seven times. Afterwards they rise, and then, he who consecrates crosses the bread, and the cup; and, having broken the bread, gives a piece to each of the by-standers; and afterwards, he gives them all to drink with the cup, and they stand all the while on their feet, and thus their sacrifice is ended. And *they firmly believe, and confess, that that is the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.* And if anything should remain of the sacrifice, they would keep it till Easter, and then use it all up; but if there were there any who asked for it, they would freely give it to them.” For the truth of this statement, I do not vouch; but the reader will observe, that the charge in this (as in all the other cases) is, not that they rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation—not, that they denied that the priests had power to transubstantiate—but, that they asserted that they could, and did, do the same. Indeed, I know of only one authority, which forms an exception; and of the general value of that, I am not (as I have already stated) able to form an opinion. The anonymous tract, “On the Heresy of



the Poor Men of Lyons," to which, I have before referred,<sup>24</sup> says, "they do not believe it to be "truly the body and blood of Christ, but only "consecrated bread; which, in a sort of figure, "is called the body of Christ; as it is said, 'and "that rock was Christ,' and the like. This, however, some say, is only performed by the good; "but others, by all who know the words of consecration."

I should be very willing to believe, that this was really the doctrine of the ancient Waldenses—and I can suppose that, at some period, it may have been the creed of some of them—but, in the face of the evidence which has been adduced, I know not how to make any farther admission. The doctrine of transubstantiation had been so well defined—it was so prominent—so much stress was laid upon it, in the inquisition of heretical pravity—the various forms of what the Romish church called heresy, on that particular point had been so sifted—that I cannot believe that the Waldenses got such testimonies of orthodoxy, while maintaining what must have been considered as mortal heresy. From the days of Peter Moranus,<sup>25</sup> the doctrine of the real presence has been "the burning article" of the Romish creed; and those whom the church of Rome acquitted of heresy on this point, must, I

<sup>24</sup> See before, p. 468, note 16.

<sup>25</sup> Ib. p. 157.

think, be considered as very indifferent witnesses against the Papacy.

The other point, on which I will now only briefly touch, is the *military* character of the Waldenses; and, in doing this, I beg the reader to remember that I am not denying to them whatever praise the world may be pleased to assign to heroes and patriots; I only ask how far it agrees with their character as witnesses, and martyrs of Christ. I grant them all the laurels that earth can yield—but can any man, with the New Testament in his hand, claim for them the heavenly crown of martyrdom? We are speaking of those who are set forth as the special and eminent disciples of Him who commanded his followers not to resist evil—to love their enemies—to bless those who cursed them—to pray for those who spitefully used, and persecuted them—who directed them when they were persecuted in one city to flee to another, and warned them that “all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword.”

On this occasion I will confine myself to a few extracts from the work of Mr. Gilly, which has been already referred to,<sup>26</sup> respecting that part of the history of the modern Waldenses, which christian writers have agreed to call their “GLORIOUS RECOVERY” of their Vallies, and

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<sup>26</sup> See before, p. 116.



which, if we adopt the system of Mr. Faber, was the predicted resurrection of the witnesses.

“After the perfidy of Victor Amadeus the Second had triumphed over his protestant subjects, and the Vandois were driven out of their country in the year 1686, the three vallies were repopled by Savoyards and Piemontese of the Roman Catholic persuasion. The forts which guarded the passes were garrisoned in part by Piemontese, and in part by French troops. The exiles themselves were dispersed among the Swiss Cantons, and in the Protestant German States. Some of them had taken refuge in Holland, and others in the Duchy of Brandenburg, where the Elector had received them with marked attention. Under these circumstances nothing could be more remote from all probability, than that this scattered remnant should rally under a leader of their own, and march *sword in hand* for the recovery of their possessions.<sup>27</sup> The success of such an enterprise must have appeared still more improbable.

“Henri Arnaud thought otherwise. Patriotic, ardent, and enthusiastic, his love for his native vallies would not suffer him to be happy in a foreign land: his courage would hear of no obstacles, and his warm imagination represented the arm of God, as lifted up to succour the holy undertaking. *Lux lucet in tenebris, the light shineth in darkness*, was the motto of his community, and the words which were ever in his mouth. He thought he saw the cloud, which was to go before him by day, and the pillar of fire, which was to give him light by night, and he was incessant in his importunities, until he had communi-

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<sup>27</sup> Certainly the thing was not likely—may we not say, that if they had followed the commands of their Lord, and had been duly impressed with gratitude to God, who had so mercifully provided them an asylum, it would have been impossible?



cated his own *martial spirit* to a few faithful friends, and had girt on, what he called, the sword of the Lord and of Gideon, which he solemnly *swore* never to resign, until the crucifix should be torn down from the altars of the thirteen sanctuaries, which until this fatal epoch, had never been so idolatrously decorated. In a short time, his little troop was increased to upwards of eight hundred daring adventurers, whom he had persuaded to join his standard, from different parts of Germany and Switzerland." p. 174.

Such is Mr. Gilly's account of the pastor—of his flock he elsewhere gives the following characteristic notice—

"The Vaudois have always been good marksmen, and, upon this occasion, they exercised their skill most successfully. From the summit of a mountain, from the top of a crag, or, from behind a rock, or tree, a marksman would frequently take his stand, and deliberately fire several shots before he could be dislodged: or, knowing every pass and defile, a few of them would make a detour, and pour in a volley upon a bivouacing party of their adversaries, which never failed of causing *dreadful slaughter* and consternation." p. 182.

The pastor and his flock crossed the lake of Geneva, on the 16th of August, 1689; and obtained possession of the vallies, after a bloody strife, which it is not my present purpose to detail. Whether they were animated to this by "the spirit of life from God," as Mr. Faber contends<sup>28</sup>—or, as Mr. Gilly (I think more justly)

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<sup>28</sup> "The two Witnesses were slain, or the two churches were dissolved, on the 31st day of January, in the year

suggests, by the pastor's "own martial spirit," let the reader judge from one or two more brief extracts. I must say that, to me, it seems rather as if the unclean spirits of pride, ambition, and revenge, had gathered them to battle. After describing their "glorious and decisive" victory, Mr. Gilly proceeds—

"The conflict lasted two hours; and the enemy were so completely routed, that many of them, finding themselves intermixed pell-mell among the Vaudois, hoped to escape, by being mistaken for them; but they were *all put to the sword*: the field of battle was covered with the dead: several companies were reduced to seven or eight men, without any officers. All the baggage, and ammunition fell into the hands of the Vaudois; and when the moon arose that evening not an enemy was to be seen.

"The exiles might have re-established themselves at once among the fastnesses of the valley of San Martino, but these brave men were *not satisfied with a secure retreat*; they resolved to dispossess the Roman Catholics, and to restore their brethren to their lands and habitations, or to perish in the attempt. The valley of Luzerno was occupied in great force by French and Piemontese troops, a detachment of whom was ordered to sieze the passes of the Col di Giuliano, and to prevent Arnaud's approach on that

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"1686; but exactly three years and a half after this marked  
"epoch, or on the 16th day of August, in the year 1689,  
"when the exiles in a body crossed the Lake of Geneva,  
"and invaded Savoy, the spirit of life from God entered  
"into them, and they stood upon their feet." *Sac. Cal.*  
Vol. III. p. 90.

side of the valley. But nothing could check his impetuous attack. The heights were carried with scarcely any loss on the part of the Vaudois; and the enemy were pursued from one summit to another, till they retreated into the vale of Bobbio, and took shelter in that village. Bobbio was, at this time, in the hands of the Papists, to whom, the confiscated property of the Protestants had been assigned. *It was taken by storm, and pillaged by the exasperated exiles, who, upon this occasion, forgot the moderation by which they had hitherto been governed.*

“ After these successes, the gallant patriots took an oath of fidelity to each other, and celebrated divine service in one of their own churches, for the first time since their banishment. The enthusiasm of the moment was irrepressible; *they chanted the 74th Psalm to the clash of arms; and Henri Arnaud, mounting the pulpit with a sword in one hand, and a Bible in the other, preached from the 129th Psalm;*<sup>29</sup> and once more declared, in the face of heaven, that he would never resume his pastoral office in patience and peace, until he should witness the restoration of his brethren to their ancient and rightful settlements. Arnaud and his undaunted band have been blamed for giving, what have been considered, too many proofs of this warlike spirit, and for forgetting what belonged to their evangelical character; but the circumstances of the case, and *the necessity of keeping their minds worked up to the highest pitch of martial enthusiasm,* MIGHT WELL JUSTIFY THEM.

“ Another memorable anecdote is preserved of the intrepid Arnaud. He was so often in front of his troop, and the first in the fight, that his comrades found themselves obliged to remonstrate with him upon this fearless exposure of his life. “ I best know,” was his reply, “ what the cause and occasion require of me : while I

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<sup>29</sup> Would not Rom. xii.10, have been a better text ?



advance follow me; and, when I fall, REVENGE me!" p. 180.

"The most shocking tale, relating to this extraordinary war, remains to be told. The Vaudois had no means of providing for the safe custody of prisoners. No prisoners, therefore, were to be taken; *no quarter was given in the fight, and NO MERCY SHEWN AFTERWARDS.* It was *literally a war of extermination.* The Duke of Savoy, and the King of France, would make no terms with the rebels, as they termed them; and they, in their turn, had *no alternative but to DESTROY EVERY MAN* who was found in arms against them. Some circumstances, attending this *dreadful* system, were particularly *lamentable.*

"The French and Piemontese troops were often thrown into confusion at the first onset, unless their numbers were very superior. They would turn their backs, throw away their arms, and fly by the first road that presented itself. In many cases, their ignorance of the country led them to take the most narrow passes; and, not unfrequently, they strayed into rugged tracks, which proved to have no outlets. The Vaudois pressed upon their rear, the wretched fugitives were crowded together, and a *fearful massacre* took place, to the *regret* of those, who, in self-defence, were compelled to such *severity.* *The grief of Arnaud, and of his compatriots, under this cruel necessity of shedding blood, is feelingly expressed in the narrative,* and oftentimes mercy was shewn to their persecutors, when it was hardly consistent with a due regard to their own safety. One anecdote will explain the *emergency* to which these poor people were driven; and will shew that even their adversaries were willing to admit, that they were justifiable in refusing quarter.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> It is not surprising, that their irreligious adversaries should justify the merciless cruelty of which they were themselves guilty—but the

“ Several of the French officers were well known to have expressed their dissatisfaction at the inglorious service in which they were engaged, and their commiseration for the victims whom they were commanded, by their bigotted sovereign, Louis XIV. to hunt down. Among these was the colonel of a regiment of infantry. After a very sharp action, this colonel was left upon the field of battle, dangerously wounded. He was found by the Vaudois, who knew his humane character, and endeavoured to save his life : but they had no experienced surgeon, and none of those necessaries which the wounded man required. Some sort of communication was made with the French General; and the Colonel's own surgeon, and a chest, containing several articles of apparel and provision, were sent for his accommodation. He recovered, and was detained by the Vaudois, and treated with all the tenderness which their situation permitted. Some more officers fell into their hands, and they too were spared.

“ Unhappily, an attack was shortly afterwards made upon the Protestants, which was partly successful, and they were obliged to retreat with great precipitation. ‘ Should we be surrounded,’ said the commander of the Vaudois to his French prisoners, ‘ we shall want the men who guard you, and *your lives must be sacrificed.*’—‘ I acknowledge and submit to the necessity,’ replied the colonel, ‘ and I shall forgive you my death. My blood will be upon the head of none, but the authors of this horrible war.’ *It happened as they had feared:* the Vaudois were hard pressed on all sides. At first, they presented the French officers to the volleys of the enemy, under the hope that

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sad reflection, as it respects the Vaudois, is, that neither their adversaries, nor their admirers, will be their final judges—and how far we should be influenced by either, in forming our judgment on the case, is a matter for the consideration of the christian reader.

their countrymen would not continue to fire at their risk ; but the combat thickened, *the prisoners all fell by the hands of their captors*, and not till then could the exiles succeed, in cutting their way through the enemy's ranks.

“ Such was the nature of the conflict between the eight hundred, and the allied forces of France and Savoy. It was a MURDEROUS SYSTEM OF WARFARE, in which the regular troops suffered in proportion of twenty to one at the least ; for they never could succeed in alluring the mountaineers from their fastnesses, or in bringing them to action except where the nature of the ground made up for the inferiority of numbers.” p. 185.

At present I add no farther comment on these facts ; partly, because I think they will speak for themselves—partly, because this volume is already inconveniently large—and, principally, because they more properly belong to the History of the Modern Waldenses (as we may, perhaps, call those who have lived since the commencement of the Reformation) of which, if it please God to grant me ability, and opportunity, and such helps as I have reason to expect, I may, perhaps, hereafter, find occasion to speak.





## AUTHORITIES.

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No. I. p. 78.

*Nicolai Papæ Ep. XIV. Ad Theodoram Augustam.*

“NICOLAUS episcopus servus servorum Dei dilectissimæ filiæ Theodoræ, imperatori quondam terreno, nunc autem spiritualiter cœlesti conjunctæ.

Virtutes vestras, quibus præditæ ante-cedentium vos Augustarum nulli diebus istis apparuistis secundæ, quibus etiam, et præcipue in causa pietatis, earum nemini estis inferiores inventæ, subtiliter atque, solícite recolentes, Deo cunctipotenti, cujus munere has percepistis, grates immensas referre, et ejus sancto nomini benedicere non cessamus, atque piorum studiorum vestrorum præconia pro imitatione audientium inter fideliû colloquia jugiter enarramus. Tu quippe etiam principe marito tuo contra leges ecclesiæ sentiente superstitè, sana sapere et recta defendere non formidasti. Tu inquam in orthodoxa religione perseverans, unicum, filium non terreni patris, sed supercœlestis iter aggredi docuisti. Quis autem morum insignia, quis correctionum tuarum facta fortia narrare sufficiat? Cum enim sola principabaris, Domino co-operante non solum ab hoste visibili, verum etiam nullo mare infirmior ecclesiam Domini ab hoste invisibili (hoc est ab errore) textisti; et perversorum dogmatum nebulam, tamquam solis radius ab ecclesiæ facie depulisti. Senserunt in te hæretici virile pectus, et mirantes insuperabile robur, quod femina fueris ambiguum habuerunt. Cur hoc, nisi quia sedis apostolicæ dogmata sequebaris, et Constantinopolitani monita pontificis, cui Romana ecclesia communicabat, amplectebaris?” *Conc. VIII. col. 384.*

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No. II. p. 128.

“NULLUS inter Gallos ante Valdensium tempora omnes sacros libros in linguam vernaculam converterat. Francica enim Novi Testamenti versio, si unquam extiterit, quam jussu Caroli Magni factam aliqui referunt, ad Teutonicas est amandanda; primi ergo, qui hunc susceperunt laborem, quorum notitia ad nos usque pervenit, illi sane fuerunt, quos denotavit Innocentius III. Pont. Max. in epist. 141. lib. 2. Epistol. p. 432. editionis Baluzianæ scripta circa annum mcc. “Universis Christi fidelibus tam in urbe Metensi quam ejus Diœcesi constitutis. Significavit nobis Venerabilis Frater” (Bertramus) “Metensis Episcopus per litteras suas, quod tam in Diœcesi quam in urbe Metensi laicorum et mulierum multitudo non modica, tracta quodammodo desiderio Scripturarum, Evangelia, Epistolæ Pauli, Psalterium, Moralia Job, et plures alios libros sibi fecit in Gallico sermone transferri.”

Bibliorum libri quidam (imprimis Novum Testamentum) in linguam vernaculam, sc. Gallicam translati a Stephano de Ansa (vel de Emsa) Sa-

cerdote Lugdunensi, studio et impensis Petri Valdensis, post annum 1170, aut 1180.

Stephanus de Borbone seu de Bellavilla Ord. Prædic. qui obiit 1261. Valdensium ortum describens libro de 7 donis Spiritus Sancti part. 4, tit. 7, cap. 30, hæc ait: "Valdenses dicti sunt a primo hujus hæresis auctore, qui nominatus fuit Valdensis. Dicuntur etiam pauperes de Lugduno, quia ibi cœperunt in professione paupertatis.... Incœpit autem illa secta per hunc modum, secundum quod ego audiui a pluribus qui priores eorum viderunt, et a Sacerdote illo, qui satis honoratus erat, et dives in civitate Lugdunensi et amicus Fratrum nostrorum, qui dictus fuit Bernardus Ydros; qui cum esset juvenis et scriptor, scripsit dicto Valdensi priores libros pro pecunia in Romano, quos ipsi habuerunt, transferente et dictante ei quodam Grammatico, dicto Stephano de Ansa," (*alii* "de Emsa") "qui postea beneficiatus in Ecclesia majore Lugdunensi" (*alius codex* "prænotatus est in Sacerdotem et") "de solario domus, quam edificabat, corrumpens morte subita vitam finivit, quem ego vidi sæpe. Quidam dives rebus in dicta urbe dictus Valdensis audiens Evangelia, cum non esset multum literatus, curiosus intelligere quid dicerent, fecit pacum cum dictis Sacerdotibus alteri (*sic*) ut transferret ei in vulgari, alteri ut scriberet quæ ille dictaret, quod fecerunt: Similiter multos libros Bibliæ et auctoritates Sanctorum multos quas sententias appolabant. Incœpit autem hæc secta circa annum Incarnationis Domini "MCLXX sub Joanne dicto Bolesmanis Archiepiscopo Lugdunensi" (*alius codex* "MCLXXX sub Joanne dicto Belesmanis.") Hæc referuntur ex codice msc. Sorbonico a R. P. Jacobo Echard sect. 4. libri quem inscripsit: Sancti Thomæ summa suo auctori vindicata, pag. 540." *Le Long, Biblioth. Sac.* Cap. V. §. 1.

### No. III. p. 140.

#### *Concilium Lumbardiense.*

"INTERROGAVIT Lodovensis episcopus eos qui faciunt se nuncupari *Boni homines* jussu episcopi Albiensis, assessorumque ejus, in primo capitulo, si recipiebant legem Moysi ac Prophetas, seu Psalmos, et Vetus Testamentum, et doctores Novi Testamenti. Responderunt coram omni multitudine, quia non recipiebant legem Moysi, neque Prophetas, neque Psalmos, nec Vetus Testamentum, nisi solummodo Evangelia, Epistolas Pauli, et septem canonicas Epistolas, Actusque apostolorum, et Apocalypsim. Secundo interrogavit eos de fide sua uti eam apponerent. Respondentes dixerunt, quod non dicerent, nisi cogerentur. Tercio interrogavit eos de baptismo parvulorum, et si salvabuntur per baptismum. Dixerunt quod nihil dicerent, sed de Evangelio et Epistolis responderent. Quarto interrogavit eos de corpore et sanguine Domini, ubi consecrabatur, vel per quos, et qui sumebant, et si magis, vel melius consecrabatur per bonum, quam per malum. Responderunt quia qui digne sumebant, salvabantur; et qui indigne, acquirebant sibi damnationem. Et dixerunt quod ab omni bono tam clerico, quam laico consecrabatur. Et nihil aliud responderent, quia non debebant cogi respondere de fide sua. Quinto interrogavit eos quid sentiebant de matrimonio, et si poterant salvari, si carnaliter jungere-



bantur vir et mulier. Noluerunt respondere nisi hoc tantum, videlicet quia vir et mulier jungebantur propter luxuriam atque fornicationem [*R. Hove. vitandam*], sicut B. Paulus in epistola sua. Sexto interrogavit eos de pœnitentia, an in fine fieret ad salutem; vel si milites qui vulnerabantur mortaliter, salvarentur si pœniterent in fine; vel si deberet unusquisque confiteri peccata sua sacerdotibus et ministris ecclesiæ, vel cuilibet laico; vel de quibus ait B. Jacobus, 'Confitemini alterutrum peccata vestra.' Qui respondentes dixerunt infirmis sufficere si confiterentur cui vellent, De militibus vero dicere noluerunt, quia non dicit B. Jacobus nisi de infirmantibus. Quæsit etiam ab eis, si sufficiebat sola cordis contritio et oris confessio, vel si erat necesse ut facerent satisfactionem post datam pœnitentiam, jejuniis, afflictionibus, et elemosynis, peccata sua lugentes, si suppetere eis facultas. Responderuntque atque dixerunt, quia Jacobus non nisi hoc tantum ut confiterentur, et sic salvarentur: nec volebant esse meliores Apostolo, ut aliquid de suo adjungerent sicut Episcopi faciunt. Dixerunt etiam multa non interrogati, quod non debebant omnino jurare per aliquod sacramentum, sicut dicebat Jesus in Evangelio, et Jacobus in Epistola sua. Dixerunt etiam, quia Paulus aiebat in Epistola sua quales erant ordinandi in ecclesia episcopi et presbyteri; et si tales non ordinabantur, quales ordinandos præcipiebat Paulus, non erant episcopi neque presbyteri, sed lupi rapaces et hypocritæ et seductores, amantes salutationes in foro, primas cathedras, et primos accubitus in cœnis, volentes vocari rabbi et magistri contra præceptum Christi, ferentes albas et candidas vestes, gestantes in digitis aureos annulos gemmatis: quod non præcipit magister eorum Jesus. Et multa alia convicia improperebant. Et idcirco quia non erant episcopi neque presbyteri, nisi tales quales fuerunt presbyteri qui tradiderunt Jesum: non debebant illis obedire, quia mali erant, non boni doctores, sed mercenarii. Contra ea quæ dicebant inductæ sunt Novi Testamenti autoritates multæ a domino Pontio Narbonensi Archiepiscopo, et Arnaldo Nemausensi Episcopo, et Petro Sendracensi Abbate, et Abbate de Fontefrigido. Auditis itaque utrimque allegationibus et Novi Testamenti autoritatibus, non enim volebant recipere judicium nisi per novum Testamentum: talem diffinitivam sententiam de jure et ex Novo Testamento protulit Lodovensis Episcopus ex mandato Albiensis Episcopi, et adessorum supra nominatorum, coram omniibus prædictis facto ab omniibus silentio.

Ego Gaucelinus Lodovensis episcopus ex præcepto Albiensis episcopi adessorumque ejus judico istos, qui vocant se *bonos homines*, hæreticos esse, et damno sectam Oliverii, sociorumque ejus, et qui tenent sectam hæreticorum de Lumbers, ubicumque sint. Atque hoc judicamus per autoritates Novi Testamenti, id est Evangelia et Epistolas, atque Psalmos, Actusque Apostolorum et Apocalypsim. . . . Responderunt hæretici, quia episcopus qui dederat sententiam erat hæreticus, et non ipsi: et quod erat inimicus eorum, atque erat lupus rapax, et hypocrita, et inimicus Dei, ac non bene judicaverat. Et noluerant respondere de fide sua, quia cavebant se ab eo, sicut eis præceperat Dominus in Evangelio: Attende in falsis prophetis, qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentis ovium, intrinsecus sunt lupi rapaces.' Et quod ipse erat persecutor eorum fraudulentus, et parati

erant ostendere per Evangelia atque Epistolas quod non erat bonus pastor, neque ipse, neque cæteri episcopi vel presbyteri, sed potius mercenarii. Respondit episcopus, quod sententia in eos de jure erat dictata et paratus erat probare in curia domini Alexandri Papæ Catholici, et in Curia Ludovici regis Franciæ, et in Curia Raimundi Comitis Tolosani, vel uxoris ejus, quæ erat præsens, vel in Curia præsentis Trencaveli, quod recte fuerat judicatum, et quod isti manifeste essent hæretici, et de hæresi notati. Atque promisit se eos accusare de hæresi in omni curia catholica, et se subiturum judicii discrimen.

Videntes vero se esse convictos atque confusos, converterunt se ad omnem populum dicentes: Audite, O boni viri, fidem nostram, quam confitemur, nunc confitemur autem propter dilectionem et gratiam vestri, Respondit Episcopus prædictus: 'Vos non dicitis, quod propter gratiam Domini dicatis, atque dicitis, propter gratiam populi.' Et illi inquit: nos credimus unum Deum vivum et verum, trinumque atque unum, Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum sanctum: Filiumque Dei carnem suscepisse, baptizatum fuisse in Jordane, jejunasse in deserto, prædicasse salutem nostram, passum, mortuum, atque sepultum, ad inferos descendisse, resurrexisse tertia die, ad cælos ascendisse, Spiritum Paraclitum in die Pentecostes discipulis misisse, venturum in die judicii ad judicandos vivos et mortuos, omnesque resurrecturos. Cognoscimus etiam quia quod corde credimus, ore debemus confiteri. Credimus quia non salvatur qui non manducat corpus Christi: et quod non consecratur nisi in Ecclesia, atque etiam nisi a sacerdote sive bono sive malo, nec melius fieri per bonum, quam per malum. Credimus etiam quod non salvatur quis, nisi per baptismum, et parvulos salvari per baptismum. Credimus etiam, quod vir et mulier salvantur, licet carnaliter misceantur. Et quod pœnitentiam debeat unusquisque accipere ore et corde, atque a sacerdote et in ecclesia baptizari. Et quidem si quid in ecclesia amplius posset ostendi per Evangelia vel Epistolas, illud crederent et confiterentur.

Interrogavit etiam eos Episcopus prædictus, si jurarent se tenere fidem istam et credere. Et si quid amplius debeant confiteri, quod male senserant atque prædicaverant, an non? Respondentes dixerunt, quod nullo modo jurarent, quia contra Evangelium facerent, et Epistolas. Contra eos vero inductæ sunt Novi Testamenti autoritates a prædictis catholicis personis. Auditis itaque utrimque autoritatibus, surgens prædictus Episcopus judicavit sic.

Ego Gancelinus Episcopus Lodovensis, jussu et mandato Albiensis Episcopi, adessorumque ejus, judico et per sententiam dico, quod male sentiunt hæretici isti de jurejurando, et debent jurare, si 'respicere volunt, præstandumque est jusjurandum ubi fides periclitatur. Et quia infames sunt, et de hæresi notati, debent purgare suam innocentiam, et redeuntes ad ecclesiæ unitatem fidem suam debent jurejurando adstruere sicut tenet et credit Ecclesia Catholica, ne infirmi qui sunt in ecclesia corrumpantur, et ne oves morbidæ universum gregem contaminent. . . . Videntes itaque quod super hoc erant convicti, dixerunt quod episcopus Albiensis fecerat eis pactum quod non cogeret eos jurare. Quod ipse Episcopus Albiensis negavit." *Conc. X. 1471.*

## No. IV. p. 147.

*Raymundi Comitis Tolosani Epistola.*

"PULLULAVERAT his diebus in Tolosani Comitis territorio hæresis maligna quæ fidem et orthodoxorum patrum ecclesiastica instituta evacuans, non solum vulgus simplex sed et ecclesiæ Dei sacerdotes et episcopos cum principibus laicis tabe confecit nefanda. Hujus hæresis detestanda perversitas in litteris Comitis Tolosæ facilius poterit agnosci, quas idem Comes generali capitulo misit Cisterciensi. Harum litterarum iste est textus.

Domino suo ac venerabili Cisterciensi Abbati A. universoque conventui in generali capitulo constituto, naufragans circa superna Comes Tolosæ Dux Narboniæ Marchio Provinciæ cum salute eorum benedictionibus confirmari orationibusque fulciri. Quoniam in scientiæ et sapientiæ vestræ thesauris clarescit quod nostris in partibus vulpes parvulæ vineas quas plantavit dextera Excelsi demoliuntur, et fontes sine aqua et nebulae turbinibus agitati, fontem qui patet domui David in ablutionem immunditiæ, et menstruæ evacuare nituntur, et rivuli virus diffundunt ut ligna quæ plantata sunt secus decursus aquarum evellant. Rogo et obsecro quatinus ascendatis ex adverso. Et ne istorum sermo qui ut cancer serpit convalescat, opponatis vos murum pro domo Israel. In tantum equidem hæc putida hæresis tabes prævaluit, ut omnes fere illi consentientes arbitrentur obsequium se præstare Deo, et ipse iniquus qui misterium jam operatur iniquitatis in filios diffidentiæ, sic transfigurat se in angelum lucis, ut uxor a viro, filius a patre, nurus a socro discedant, proh dolor! Insuper sic in finibus nostris obscuratum est aurum, ut quasi lutum sub pedibus diaboli sternatur. Quoniam et qui sacerdotio funguntur hæresis sorditate depravantur, et antiqua olimque veneranda ecclesiarum loca inculta jacent, diruta remanent, baptismus negatur, eucaristia abominatur, poenitentia parvi penditur, hominis plasmatio, carnis resurrectio abnegando respuitur, et omnia ecclesiastica sacramenta annullantur, et quod dici nefas est, duo eciã principia introducuntur. Et nunc quid dicam? Non sunt qui recogitent et dicant in cordibus suis, 'Quid facimus quia homines isti multa mala faciunt? Si dimittimus eos sic, omnes credent in eos. Et qui absorbit fluvium et non mirabitur, ex iniquæ præsumptionis audacia influet Jordanis in os ejus.' Ego quidem qui uno e duobus divinis accingor gladio, et qui me iræ Dei vindicem et ministrum Dei in hoc ipsum constitutum confiteor, dum tali infidelitati modum ponere et finem dare innitor, ad tantum et tale negotium complendum vires meas deficere cognosco, quoniam terræ meæ nobiliores jam prælibata infidelitatis tabe aruerunt, et cum ipsis maxima hominum multitudo a fide corruens aruit, unde id perficere non audeo nec valeo. Nunc igitur ad vestrum confugiens subsidium, humili cordis imploro affectu, quatinus ad extirpandum tantum infidelitatis malum manum consilii vestri et auxilii cum virtute orationis porrigatis. Scitote etenim quia in tantum hæresis virulenta inviscerata manet, quod nisi manu Dei valida ejusque brachio extento extirpari non potest. Talium namque caput induratum quasi lapis sic manet, ut in stipulam ei vertantur lapides fundæ. Quoniam igitur spiritualis gladii vir-



tutem nil perficere posse cognoscimus, ad tantam hæresis pravitatem extirpandam, oportet ut corporalis gladii animadversione compellatur. Ad quod peragendum Dominum Regem Francorum accersiri vestris ex partibus persuadeo, quia per ipsius præsentiam tanta mala finem suscipere suspicor. Ipsi quippe præsentem civitates aperiunt, vicos et castella sub ejus censura tradant, hæreticos ostendant, et usque ad sanguinem in quocunque nostri indiguerit negotio ad conferendos hostes et omnes Christi inimicos illi assistant. Valete."

No. V. p. 151.

*Epistola Henrici Abbatis Clarevallensis.*

"AUDITE cæli quod plangimus: sciat terra gemitum cordis nostri. Doleant vices Christi Catholici Christiani, et ad detrimenta fidei fidelis populus ingemiscat. Quique terrigenæ et filii hominum humanæ salutis damna deplorent, et generalis vitæ nostræ subversio ab omnibus viventibus generaliter lugeatur. Stat contra phalangas Israel novus nostri temporis Philistæus, hæreticorum ordo, exercitus perversorum, qui agminibus Dei viventis irreverenter exprobrat, et Deum majestatis in prima præsumptione blasphemat. Quod dubitas, O David? quid trepidas vir fidelis? sume tibi fundam et lapidem: percutiatur protinus in fronte blasphemus, et caput nequam, quod impudenter erigitur, suo tuis manibus mucrone tollatur. Si enim in hoc certamine pars Christi vincitur, si vel ad modicum et in puncto mater ecclesia conculcatur, scimus pro certo causæ non desse meritum, sed patronum: scimus quod non negabitur agonistæ nostro triumphus, si amore fidei militat pugnaturus. Verum quia juxta veritatis verbum messis multa est, et operarii pauci, si introierint audacter, tuorum bone Jesu depopulatores agrorum parati sicut operarii subdoli, acerba magis radicare quam matura demetere, et tuæ messonis diem suis direptionibus prævenire: ubi sunt ergo agricolæ tui constituti super agrum fertilem et jucundum, tuo cruore floridum, et aspersione pii sanguinis irrigatum. Surgant et opulentur nobis, et in necessitate nos protegant, seque ad cruentas bestias murum nobis defensionis opponant. Sorgite inquam, surgite viri patres duces, gentium, principes populorum, abigite feras pessimas, quas vidimus, quas monstramus, vel saltem vulpes parvulas effugare et capere quidem melius, sed ad hoc quis idoneus? Non habent certos aditus: semitas ambulant circulares, et in quodam fraudium suarum labyrintho monstra sævissima reconduntur. Tanquam damula de manu diffugiunt; et, instar colubri tortuosi, quo eos plus astrinxeris, facilius elabuntur. Deo autem gratias quod etsi capi nequeant, fugari possunt, ut cum perdiderint quod demoliebantur in nobis, confundantur et pereant in semetipsis. Hoc autem quod sit facile per ea quæ vidimus et tractavimus approbamus: ut jam a modo si factum non fuerit, non tam illorum nequitiam quam defectus nostros nostrorumque negligentiam deploremus. Contigit enim nuper ad imperium domini papæ, et hortatu piissimorum principum Lodowici Francorum et Henrici Anglorum regum, Dominum Petrum apostolicæ sedis legatum, virosque venerabiles Pictavensem et Bathonensem episcopos, nosque, in comitatu eorum urbem adire

Tolosam; quæ, sicut erat civitas maximæ multitudinis, ita etiam dicebatur esse mater hæresis et caput erroris. Perreximus ergo ad illam, ut sciremus si juxta clamorem, qui ascendit, esset dolor ejus. Et ecce inventa est plaga ejus magna nimis: ita ut a planta pedis, usque ad verticem capitis vix esset in eo sanitas, vere enim tertia pars nobis nunciata non fuerat de omnibus abominationibus suis malis, quas civitas illa nobilis in incredulitatis suæ gremio confovebat. Locum in ea sibi abominatio desolationis invenerat, et propheticorum similitudo reptilium in latibulis ejus domicilium obtinebat. Ibi hæretici principabantur in populo, dominabantur in clero, eo quod populus sic sacerdos, et in interitum gregis ipsa configurabatur vita pastoris. Loquebantur hæretici et omnes admirabantur: loquebatur Catholicus et dicebant, quis est hic? in stuporem et miraculum deducentes, si esset aliquis inter eos, qui de verbo fidei auderet aliquid vel mutire. In tantum prævaluerat pestis in terra, quod illi sibi non solum sacerdotes et pontifices fecerant: sed etiam evangelistas habebant qui corrupta et cancellata evangelica veritate nova illis evangelia cuderent, et de corde suo nequam recentia dogmata seducto populo prædicarent. Mentior si non erat inter eos homo quidam ætate grandævus, rebus locuples, ornatus fratribus et amicis, et magnus omnino inter maximos civitatis, quem ita peccatis exigentibus diabolus excæcaverat, ut seipsum Johannem Evangelistam diceret; et verbum, quod erat in principio apud Deum, ab alio quodam rerum patricipio tanquam a Deo altero segregaret. Hic erat in urbe illa pereuntium caput, et princeps hæreticorum. Qui licet tanquam laicus et idiota nil saperet, inter eos tamen velut quidam diabolicæ sapientiæ fons perditionis et mortis felleos latices emanabat. Conveniebant ad eum noctibus noctuæ tenebræ; et ille indumento quodam ad instar tunicæ dalmaticæque vestitus, cum sederet inter eos tanquam rex circumstante exercitu erat, et inerat desipientium prædicator. Totam penitus urbem discipulis suis et disciplina repleverat: quippe cui aliquis de urbe præ fortitudine sua resistere non audebat. In ipso quoque introitu nostro tanta erat hæreticis ubique licentia ut nos quoque per vicos et plateas recto itinere procedentes subsannarent verbo, digito demonstrarent: nos apostatas, nos hypocritas, nos hæreticos conclamantes. Verum procedente tempore et data nobis requie diebus paucis, injunctum est uni de nobis verbum exhortationis assumere, et de regula veræ fidei coram infideli multitudine disputare. Habito autem sermone orthodoxæ prædicationis ad plebem, conterriti sunt in Sion peccatores, possedit tremor hypocritas: ita ut qui prius obstruebant ora loquentium, jam apparere coram loquentibus non auderent, Audiens illico vel videns vulpes transfiguratas in talpas, ut quæ prius impune in publico discurrebant; jam terrarum latebris, jam sese cellulis immergerent cavernosis, et plantaria sacra, quæ jam non audebant in aperto commandere, intra terræ viscera corroderent et necarent. Ut autem pardus ille discolor pellis suæ varietate se proderet, sermonem sibi nequam callidis adinventionibus firmaverunt, ut ad nostræ confirmationis similitudinem simulandam tracti ad discussiones graves, quicquid nos credimus se credere mentirentur. Ex illa ergo die Dominus Legatus et nos alii qui cum feris bestiis in aperto congredi putabamus, ad prescrutandos eos, quos timor et confusio tanquam ignobiles in



ima terræ detruserat, studium totum convertimus, et laborem, ut vel coacti prodirent in publicum, et abjicerent in luce opera tenebrarum. Factum est exinde, præcipiente legato, ut juraret Episcopus, et quidam de Clero, et Consules civitatis, alique civitatis viri fideles, quos nondum in aliquo perfidiæ fama resperserat, quod quoscunque vel hæcenus noverant, vel nosse eos contingeret in futuro qui essent hujus hæresis vel complices vel auctores, eorum nobis nomina depromerent; Nulli penitus vel amore vel pretio vel cujuscumque necessitudinis ratione parentes. Cumque per singulos dies innumera multitudo in catalogum illius conscriptionis incideret, nominatus est inter alios magnus ille Petrus Moranus, quem Johannem Evangelistam, ut supra diximus, nominabant. Super quo nos omnes communicato consilio decrevimus, ab illo inchoare judicium, ut turba in reliquis perfida contremisceret, cum falsi evangelistæ versutiam veri evangeli simplicitas condemnasset. Missis ergo apparitoribus, præcepit eum Comes Sancti Egidii, qui fideliter nobis aderat accersiri. Sed ille in multitudine divitiarum suarum, et parentum numerositate confidens, primæ citationis edictum fastuosæ dilationis colludio declinavit. Altera ergo die prædictus Comes, blanditiis magis quam terroribus enitens, eundem Petrum per amicos et notos leviter advocavit, et cum nobis tandem post difficultates plurimas veniendi, mixtis cum terrore blanditiis, præsentavit. Tunc unus, qui loquebatur e nobis, taliter eum exorsus est commonere. ‘Eja nunc (Petre) tui te concives accusant, quod sanæ fidei regulis confutatis in Arrianæ hæresis devenieris pravitatem: imo per multiplicium errorum devia, et ducis ipse alios, et ab aliis deducaris.’ Ad hæc ille de profundo suspirans et tactus dolore cordis intrinsecus, se non esse hujusmodi est prima fronte mentitus. Et requisitus an hoc juramento probaret, simplici assertioni suæ tanquam fidelis viri et illustris credi oportere contendit. Cæterum cum in exigendo juramento universi pariter instaremus promisit se continuo juraturum, ne in hoc ipso deprehenderetur hæreticus, si juxta quod consuetudo illius erroris obtinuit, vitandi juramenti existeret obstinatus. Mox igitur sanctorum reliquiæ honorabiliter efferuntur, cum tam solemnī reverentia et devotione susceptæ, ut et fidelis populus compungeretur ad lachrymas, et hæreticos, qui conveniant, latebræ potius quam talia spectacula delectarent. Ipsum vero Petrum, in cantu, quem ad invocandam Spiritus Sancti præsentiam profusis lachrymis cantabamus, tremor evidens et pallor opernit: ita ut ab eo et color vultus aufugit, et vigor animi deperiret. Quomodo enim adveniente Spiritu Sancto, et in adversario ejus spiritus remaneret? Cernere erat hominem quasi morbo paralytico dissolutum, nec loquelam retinuisse, nec sensum, quamvis tantæ facundiæ fuisse diceretur ab omnibus, quod omnes in dicendo sit solitus superare. Quid plura? jurat infelix astantibus universis, quod de omnibus articulis fidei, quos requiremus ab eo, suæ credulitatis exprimeret veritatem. Res mira, et in tali spectaculo pia jocunditate gratissima. Apertus est liber, in quo juraverat: et uno de circumstantibus religioso quodam joco occurrentis literæ prænasticum perquirente illius scripturæ textus occurrit. “Quid tibi et nobis Jesu fili Dei? venisti ante tempus torquere nos?” Vere Domine Jesu nihil tibi et illis, quos pater tuus cœlestis a te vite vera tanquam infructuosos palmi-



tes amputarat, et foras miserat, ut arescant. At nobis in tuo nomine congregatis, lætitiæ multiplicatur augmentum, et in gratiarum actione, et voce laudis, virtutis tuæ gloria resonabat. Demum Petrus in virtute sacramenti simpliciter requisitus, ut de sacramento altaris suam nobis fidem sine fraude aliqua fateretur, quod corde non credidit ad justitiam, nec ore confessus est ad salutem: sed contra id, quod de omnibus mentiri decreverat falsitati suæ prodidit veritatem; et panem sanctum vitæ æternæ sacerdotis ministerio in verbo Domini consecratum, non esse corpus Domini novo dogmate contendebat asserere. Tunc surrexerunt omnes eum quodammodo lachrymis obruentes quas et sacramentorum Christi contemptus elicit, et habita erga miserum compassio, christiana produxit. Nec plura dant Comiti: Reus et hæreticus judicatus est: statimque sub diligenti pollicitatione parentum custodiæ publicæ mancipatur. Volat facti rumor per vicos et plateas amplissimæ civitatis. Aperiantur ora fidelium, et Catholicæ plebis labia in tua (Christe) præconia resolvuntur; velut tunc primum in eadem urbe fidei splendor erumperet, et in spem salutis æternæ desperata dudum civitas respiraret. Ex tunc ergo et deinceps verbum Dei crescebat, et multiplicabatur indies: ita ut universa urbis facies lætior videretur, per quæ in candorem lucidæ veritatis de tenebris evadebat erroris. Interea Petrus ad se reversus, et Domino respiciente compunctus, cum se dignum penitus tam præsentī morte cerneret quam futura; missis mediatoribus multis satisfactionis quærit aditum, et conversionis pollicetur effectum, ut posset in frugem melioris vitæ ab imminenti mortis interitu liberari. Venit, recipitur, et in conspectu sistitur populi contristantis nudo quidem corpore veteris perfidiæ exuens pravitatem. Ibi se coram omnibus hæreticum recognovit: ibi dedit manus fidei, ibi renuntiavit errori, præstito, coram omnibus manu dextra juramento, et datis fidejussoribus tam Comiti ipsi quam militibus et præcipuis concivibus suis, quod ad omne mandatum domini legati se subderet, et jussionem ejus in omnibus adimpleret. Tunc indictum est populo, ut omnes pariter ad ecclesiam sancti Saturnini die altera convenirent, audituri et visuri solemniter quam penitentiae formam Petrus ille susciperet observandam. Omnes igitur sequente die, ut fuerant prænominati, conveniunt, tanta utique multitudo, tam frequens; ut vix remaneret secus ipsa altaris cornua locus vacuus, qui domino legato Missæ solemnia celebranti sine compressione nimia præberetur. Et ecce coram illa multitudine multa nimis Petrus ille jam noster per ipsas ecclesiæ valvas nudus et discalceatus adducitur, cædentibus hinc inde cum Episcopo Tolosano et Abbate Sancti Saturnini, donec ad pedes legati in ipsis altaris gradibus poneretur. Ibi in facie Ecclesiæ ecclesiasticis reconciliatus est sacramentis, abjurata omni hæresi, et hæreticis anathematizatis ab eo. Mox autem possessionibus ejus publicatis universaliter et proscriptis, penitentia illi talis injungitur: ut infra quadraginta dies a patria sua exsulaturus abscederet in servitio pauperum Ierosolymis triennio moraturus. Interim vero singulis diebus Dominicis ecclesias Tolosanæ urbis nudus et discalceatus cum disciplinalibus virgis jussus est circuire, ecclesiarum bona, quæ abstulerat reddere, usuras omnes, quas acceperat, restituere, damna pauperum, quos afflixerat, resarcire, et castrum quoddam suum,

quod hæreticorum conventiculis profanarat ab ipsis fundamentis evertere. Deus bone, quot ibi lachrymas lætitia sancta profundit, quas gratiarum actiones et laudes populus jubilans et devotus cœlestibus choris ingressit, cum de cavernis perfidiæ talpa talis educitur et in Israeliticam ovem lupus rapacissimus reformatur. Posthæc illo dimisso dominus Legatus ad alios manus misit, excommunicaturus utique illos, quos in magno numero vel suspicio publica, vel accusatio privata notaverat. Nos autem vix tandem cum lachrymis exorta lætitia revertendi pro eo quod instantia capituli nostros jam reditus exigebat, petita licentia, sub ea nobis est exceptione concessa, ut Albiensem diœcesin intraremus, commonituri principem terræ Rogerum videlicet de Beders, ut et Albiensem episcopum, quem sub custodia hæreticorum in vinculis tenebat, absolveret, et universam terram suam juxta præceptum domini legati eliminatis hæreticis emundaret. Ingredientibus ergo nobis una cum supradicto Bathoniensi Episcopo illam perditissimam regionem, quæ velut totius sentina malitiæ totam in se colluvionem hæresis illuc diffluentis excepit. Prædictus Rogerus in ultimos et inaccessibiles terræ suæ fines abscessit, tam mala conscientia profugus, quam causæ suæ merito desperatus, oderat enim lucem veritatis, autor malitiæ, nec sustinere poterat nostræ colloquutionis accessum, qui totus recesserat in opera tenebrarum. Pervenimus tamen ad quoddam munitissimum castrum ejus, quod proprie ac singulariter Castri nomine incolæ nuncupabant. Ibi habitabat uxor illius cum militia magna, et familia multa nimis Omnes fere habitatores ejusdam castri, vel hæreticorum complices erant, licet sola Domini virtute repressi nihil contra fidem, quam prædicabamus, præsumerent vel mutire. Quamvis enim essemus in manus eorum positi, et velut in eorum quasdam potentiæ suæ compedes hæretica undique multitudine circumventi, verbum tamen Domini non erat alligatum, quin eos continuis invectionibus et increpationibus feriremus Cumque videremus quod nihil omnino præsumerent respondere, judicavimus prædictum Rogerum proditorem; hæreticum, et de violata Episcopi securitate perjurum, eum tanquam publica excommunicatione damnatum ex parte domini Papæ ac prædictorum regum in præsentia conjugis militumque suorum in nomine Christi confidenter diffidentes. Ecce a modo satis apparet quam grande et evidens ostium patet principibus Christianis, ut Christi ulciscantur injurias, ponantque desertum quasi hortum Domini et solitudinem ejus in delitias Paradisi. Ne autem vel parum vel nihil fieri contra illos posse causentur, sciant omnes generalem fuisse in urbe Tolosana sententiam, quod si ista visitatio fuisset adhuc triennis retardata: vix inveniretur in ea qui nomen Christi amplius invocaret. Super hæc autem omnia prædictus Comes Sancti Egidii coram populo civitatis præstito juramento firmavit, quod a modo nec prece nec pretio favebit hæreticis.

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No. VI. p. 161.

*Epistola Petri tituli Sancti Chrysogoni presbyteri Cardinalis apostolicæ sedis legati.*

PETRUS Dei gratia tituli Sancti Chrysogoni, presbyter Cardinalis, Apostolicæ sedis legatus, universis sancte matris ecclesiæ filiis, catholicam



atque Apostolicam fidem servantibus, in Domino salutem. Testante Apostolo, sicut unus Deus, ita et una fides esse dignoscitur, a cujus integritate nullus potest sine periculo deviare. Cujus fundamentum, præter quod nullus aliud potest ponere, Apostoli et Apostolici viri successores eorum, inspirante et docente Spiritu sancto, sanis doctrinis tanquam vivis ex lapidibus ita firmiter et circumspecti jecerunt; quod nec sonantis impetus Aquilonis, nec impiorum machinæ licet crebris assultibus impugnetur, illud poterunt a sua firmitate movere. Unde quamvis diebus istis quidam falsi fratres, Raimundus videlicet de Baimiaco, Bernardus Raimundi, et quidam alii hæresiarchæ transfigurantes se in angelos lucis, cum sint Sathanæ, prius Christianæ, et Apostolicæ fidei contraria prædicantes, multorum animas, venenosa prædicatione deceperunt, et secum traxerunt ad ruinam: novissime tamen, ille, qui revelat mysteria, et ad confutandos seniores Israel dedit spiritum Danieli, ad animas diabolica fraude deceptas respiciens, noluit ulterius perfidiam illorum velari nec Christianæ fidei sinceritatem illorum prædicatione corrumpi: sed sua admirabili potestate, audientibus et videntibus multis, quod prius latuerat, venenum perfidiæ detexit, in augmentum et gloriam fidei Christianæ. Cum itaque predicti Raimundus et Bernardus, atque alii, venerabili fratri nostro Reginoldo Bathoniensi episcopo, et nobilibus viris, vicecomiti de Turena et Raimunda de Castro Novo, qui de consilio nostro in terram Rogeri de Bediers pro liberatione venerabilis fratris nostri Albanensis episcopi venerant, occurrissent; et se confiterentur, a nobili viro Cornite Tolosano et aliis baronibus, qui eos in perpetuum abjuraverunt, injuste tractari: cum pro defensione fidei suæ ad præsentiam nostram se venturos proponerent, si veniendi et redeundi, securitatem haberent: memorati Episcopus et Vicecomes, ne corda simplicium, qui illorum fære erant imbuti scandalum paterentur et diffidentia nostræ ascriberent, si eis audientia negaretur, ex parte nostra et predicti Comitibus indulserunt, ut cum omni securitate se conspectui nostro præsentarent, quatenus sub nostro et venerabilis fratris nostri Pictavensis Episcopi, Apostolicæ sedis legati, et aliorum discretorum virorum, et totius populi examine audirentur, et si recte et sane crederent probarentur: et postquam a nobis examinati fuissent, nihilominus ad propria remearent securi, ne metu vel violentia qualibet viderentur inducti ad confessionem veræ fidei, ita tamen quod post elapsos octo dies juxta edictum, quod exierat, nisi ad fidem nostram redirent, de terris principum, qui eos abjuraverant deberent expelli. Nos itaque indulgentiam eis ab Episcopo et Vicecomite factam, quamvis a præfato Comite Tolosano et aliis nobilibus viris (sicut diximus) jam exierat edictum, ut de terris eorum deberent expelli, ratam habentes: eodem Pictavensi Episcopo, et prædicto Comite Tolosano, et aliis clericis et laicis quasi trecentis, in ecclesia beati Stephani nobiscum pariter congregatis, illis injunximus ut fidem suam nobis exponerent, et ad Catholicæ fidei veritatem redeuntes, infamiam quam et tota terra, et ipsi pauper per damnabilem prædicationem incurrerant, per salutiferam confessionem veræ fidei removerent. Ipsi vero inter alia verba, quæ huic inde processerunt, chartam quandam in qua fidei suæ articulos conscripserant, in medium protulerunt, Et eam sicut prolixius scripta erat perlegerunt. In qua cum verba quædam depræhen-



dissemus, quæ et suspecta videbantur existere, et nisi plenius exponerentur hæresim, quam prædicaverant, possent velare, quæsimus ut Latinis verbis respondentes suam fidem defenderent. tunc quia lingua eorum non erat nobis satis nota, tunc quia evangelia et epistolæ, quibus tantummodo fidem suam confirmare volebant Latino eloquio noscuntur esse scripta. Cumque id facere non auderent, utpote, qui linguam Latinam penitus ignorabant, sicut in verbis unius illorum apparuit : qui cum Latine vellet loqui vix duo verba jungere potuit, et omnino defecit ; necesse fuit nos illis condescendere, et de ecclesiasticis sacramentis, propter imperitiam illorum, quamvis satis esset absurdum, vulgarem habere sermonem. Illi ergo duo esse principia denegantes, publice coram nobis et prædictis viris confessi sunt, et firmiter asseruerunt ; quod unus Deus altissimus omnia visibilia et invisibilia condidisset : quod etiam scripturis, sicut verum est, Evangelicis atque Apostolicis comprobabant. Confessi sunt etiam, quod sacerdos noster, bonus sive malus, justus vel injustus, et talis etiam quem adulterum, vel alias criminosum indubitanter esse scirent, corpus et sanguinem Christi posset conficere ; et per ministerium hujusmodi sacerdotis, et virtutem divinorum verborum, quæ a Domino prolata sunt, panis et vinum in corpus et sanguinem Christi vere transubstantiantur. Asseruerunt quoque quod parvuli vel adulti nostro baptismo baptizati salvantur, et nullus sine eodem baptismo potest salvari : omnino inficientes se aliud baptismum, aut manus impositionem, sicut eis imponebatur, habere. Affirmaverunt nihilominus, quod vir et mulier matrimonio copulati, si aliud peccatum non impediatur, licet carnaliter alter alteri debitum reddat, propter bonum matrimonii excusati salvantur : et propter hoc nunquam damnantur. Archiepiscopos præterea et episcopos, presbyteros, monachos, canonicos, heremitas, templarios, et hospitalarios affirmaverunt esse salvandos. Dignum quoque et justum esse dicebant, ut ecclesias in honore Dei atque sanctorum fundatas cum summa devotione visitantes adirent : et sacerdotibus et aliis earum ministris honorem et reverentiam exhibentes primitias et decimas eis deberent solvere et de omnibus parochialibus devote et fideliter respondere. Eleemosynas etiam tam ecclesiis quam pauperibus, necnon et Omnipotenti esse tribuendas, inter cætera laudabiliter asseriebant. Hæc omnia licet prius dicerentur negasse, juxta nostrum sanum intellectum se intelligere asserentes. Postquam autem ita a nobis examinati fuerunt, et ea quæ diximus spontanea voluntate confessi ecclesiam beati Jacobi intravimus, ubi nobiscum innumera populi multitudo, quæ se quasi ad spectandum præparabat, convenit, et confessionem fidei eorum, quæ in prædicta chartula conscripta fuerat, vulgari sermone audivit. Porro cum a nobis et omni populo, qui ibidem convenerat in omni patientia, et sine tumultu aliquo fuissent auditi, et ipsi sponte finem dicendi fecissent : quia expositio suæ fidei satis laudabilis et catholica videbatur, iterum ab eis audiente universo populo quæsimus, si corde crederent quod ore fuerant confessi, et si aliquando in contrarium, sicut eis sæpius impositum fuerat, prædicassent. Illis vero respondentibus, se ita credere, et nihilominus negantibus, se unquam aliter prædicasse, nobilis vir Comes Tolosanus, et multi alii clerici et laici qui eos audierant aliter prædicantes, vehementi admiratione commoti, et Christianæ fidei zelo succensi surrexerunt, et eos plane in caput suum mentitos fuisse manifes-

tius convicerunt. Quidam enim constanter proposuerunt se a quibusdam illorum audisse quod duo dii existerent, alter bonus et alter malus: bonus invisibilia tantum, et ea quæ mutari aut corrumpi non possunt fecisset; malus, qui cælum, terram, hominem, et alia visibilia condidisset. Alii affirmaverunt se in illorum prædicatione audisse corpus Christi non confici per ministerium sacerdotis indigni, aut aliquibus criminibus irretiti. Multi similiter testati sunt, eos prorsus negantes audisse, virum cum uxore salvari, si alter alteri debitum reddat. Alii in faciem illis firmiter opponebant, quod ab ipsis audissent baptismum parvulis non prodesse: et alias quam plures contra Deum et sanctam ecclesiam et catholicam fidem blasphemias protulisse, quas pro abominabili earum enormitate tacere maluimus, quam referre. Quicquid autem illi in sua superiore confessione, quæ satis videbantur sufficere ad salutem, si ita corde crederent ad justitiam et in corde et corde dixerint, sicut homines tortæ mentis et intentionis obliquæ, tandem hæresim noluerunt relinquere: ubi crassum et supinum eorum intellectum alicujus auctoritatis superficies videbatur jurare, occasione verbi illius, quod Dominus in evangelio dixisse legitur, "Nolite omnino jurare: et sit sermo vester est, non non:" dicentes se non debere jurare, cum ipse Dominus sæpe jurasse legatur, sicut scriptum est; "Juravit Dominus" et cætera. Et alibi, "Per memetipsum juravi dicit Dominus." Et Apostolus, "Omnis controversiæ finis est juramentum." Et multa in hunc modum in divinis scripturis legentibus sese offerunt et occurrunt: quibus propter illorum infirmitatem quibus aliquid suademus jurare permittitur. Cæterum ipsi tanquam viri idiotæ non intelligentes scripturas in laqueum, quem absconderant, ceciderunt, quia cum prius juramentum tanquam rem execrabilem et a Domino prohibitam abhorrerent, in ipsa confessionis suæ charta jurasse convicti sunt, cum dixerint, 'In veritate, quæ Deus est, ita credimus, et dicimus, quod hæc est fides nostra: nescientes quod veritatem et verbum Dei in testimonium nostræ assertionis adducere proculdubio sit jurare, sicut de Apostolo legimus cum dixit, "Hoc enim vobis dicimus in verbo Dei:" et alibi, "Testis est mihi Deus." Et alia similia comprobant, quæ ab illis, qui divinas scripturas intelligunt, et legerunt, possunt facilius inveniri. Cum autem a multis et sufficientibus testibus fuissent convicti, et adhuc multi se ad ferendum contra eos testimonium præpararent, quia ecclesia consuevit redeuntibus misericordiæ gremium non pegrare, eos diligentius monuimus, ut omni hæretica pravitate deposita ad fidei unitatem redirent. Et quia a domino Papa, et venerabilibus fratribus nostris, Bituricensi et Narbonensi archiepiscopis, et a Tolosano episcopo, et a nobis ipsis propter perversam prædicationem et sectam excommunicati fuerant, ad nos juxta formam ecclesiæ reconciliandi venirent. Quod cum illi in arcum pravum conversi, et mente perdita indurati, facere recusarent, nos in conspectu totius populi, qui jugiter acclamabat, et in eos multa immanitate fremebat, eos iterum accensis candelis, una cum prædicto Pictavensi episcopo, et aliis religiosis viris, qui nobis in omnibus astiterunt, excommunicatos denunciavimus, et ipsos cum suo auctore diabolo condemnavimus. Ea propter universitatem vestram monemus, et exhortamur in Domino, atque in remissionem peccatorum injungimus, quatenus predictos Raimundum et Bernardum et complices eorum, tanquam excommunicatos et



Sathanæ traditos, cautius evitetis; etsi quando aliud quam in audientia nostra, sicut præscripsimus sunt confessi vobis de cætero præsumpserint prædicare, prædicationem eorum tanquam falsam et catholicæ atque Apostolicæ fidei contrariam respuatis, et ipsos tanquam hæreticos et Antichristi præambulos, a sinceritatis vestræ consortio, et vestris finibus longius expellatis." *Rogeri de Hoveden Annal.* an. 1178.

No. VII. p. 175.

*Concilium Lateranense III.*

"SICUT ait beatus Leo licet ecclesiastica disciplina sacerdotali contenta iudicio, cruentas non efficiat ultiones: catholicorum tamen principum constitutionibus adjuvatur, ut sæpe quærant homines salutare remedium, dum corporale super se metuunt evenire supplicium. Ea propter, quia in Gasconia, Albegiesio, et partibus Tolosanis et aliis locis, ita hæreticorum, quos alii *Catharos*, alii *Patrinos*, alii *Publicanos*, alii aliis nominibus vocant, invaluit damnata perversitas, ut jam non in occulto, sicut aliqui, nequitiam suam exerceant, sed suum errorem publice manifestent, et ad suum consensum simplices attrahant, et infirmos; eos, et defensores eorum, et receptores, anathemati decernimus subiacere: et sub anathemate prohibemus, ne quis eos in domibus, vel in terra sua tenere, vel fovere, vel negotiationem cum eis exercere præsumat. Si autem in hoc peccato decesserint, non sub nostrorum privilegiorum cuilibet indulgentiarum obtentu, nec sub aliaque occasione, aut oblatio fiat pro eis, aut inter Christianos recipiant sepulturam." *Conc. x.* 1522.

No. VIII. p. 176.

*Lucii Pape III. Decretum contra hæreticos.*

"AD abolendam diversarum hæresum pravitatem, quæ in plerisque mundi partibus, modernis cæpit temporibus pullulare, vigor debet ecclesiasticus excitari: cum nimirum imperialis fortitudinis suffragante potentia, et hæreticorum protervitas in ipsis falsitatis suæ conatibus elidatur et Catholicæ simplicitatis veritas in ecclesia sancta resplendens, eam utique demonstret ab omni execratione falsorum dogmatum expiatam. Ideoque nos, carissimi filii nostri Friderici illustris Romanorum Imperatoris, semper Augusti, præsentia pariter et vigore suffulti, de communi consilio fratrum nostrorum, necnon aliorum patriarcharum, archiepiscoporum, multorumque principum qui de diversis mundi partibus convenerunt: contra ipsos hæreticos, quibus diversa vocabula diversarum indidit professio falsitatum, præsentis decreti generali sanctione consurgimus et omnem hæresim, quocumque nomine censeatur, per hujus constitutionis seriem, autoritate apostolica condemnamus.

"In primis ergo *Catharos*, et *Patarinos*, et eos qui se *Humiliatos*, vel *Pauperes de Lugduno*, falso nomine mentientur, *Passaginos*, *Josepinos*, *Arnaldistas*, perpetuo decernimus anathemati subiacere. Et quoniam nonnulli sub specie pietatis virtutem ejus juxta quod ait Apostolus, dene-



gantes, auctoritatem sibi vindicant prædicandi: cum idem Apostolus dicat: "Quomodo prædicabunt, nisi mittantur?" omnes qui vel prohibiti, vel non missi, præter auctoritatem ab apostolica sede, vel episcopo loci susceptam, publice vel privatim prædicare præsumpserint; et universos, qui de sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, vel de baptismate, seu peccatorum remissione, aut de matrimonio, vel reliquis ecclesiasticis Sacramentis, aliter sentire aut docere non metuunt, quam sacrosancta Romana ecclesia prædicat et observat, et generaliter quoscumque eadem Romana ecclesia, vel singuli episcopi per dioceses suas, cum consilio clericorum, vel clerici ipsi sede vacante, cum consilio, si oportuerit, viciniorum episcoporum, hæreticos judicaverint, pari vinculo perpetui anathematis innodamus. Receptores et defensores eorum, cunctosque pariter qui prædictis hæreticis ad fovendam in eis hæresis pravitatem, patrocinium præstiterint aliquid, vel favorem, sive *consolati*, sive *credentes*, sive *perfecti*, seu quibuscumque superstitionis nominibus nuncupentur, simili decernimus subjacere sententiæ.

Quia vero peccatis exigentibus quandoque contingit, ut ecclesiasticæ severitas disciplinæ, ab iis qui virtutem ejus non intelligunt, condemnnetur: præsentī nihilominus ordinatione sancimus, ut qui manifeste fuerint in supradictis erroribus deprehensi, si clericus est, vel cujuslibet religionis obumbratione fucatus, totius ecclesiastici ordinis prærogativa nudetur: et sic omni pariter officio et beneficio ecclesiastico spoliatus, sæcularis relinquatur arbitrio potestatis animadversione debita puniendus, nisi continuo post deprehensionem erroris ad fidei catholicæ unitatem sponte recurrere, et errorem suam, ad arbitrium episcopi regionis, publice consenserit abjurare, et satisfactionem congruam exhibere. Laicus autem, quem aliqua prædictarum pestium notoria vel privata culpa resperserit, nisi prout dictum est, abjurata hæresi, et satisfactione exhibita, confestim ad fidem confugerit orthodoxam, sæcularis judicis arbitrio relinquatur debitam recepturus pro qualitate facinoris ultionem.

Qui vero inventi fuerint sola ecclesiæ suspitione notabiles, nisi ad arbitrium episcopi, juxta considerationem suspicionis qualitatemque personæ, propriam innocentiam congrua purgatione monstraverint, simili sententiæ subjacebunt. Illos autem qui post abjuracionem erroris, vel postquam se, ut diximus, proprii antistitis examinatione purgaverint, deprehensi fuerint in abjuratam hæresim recidissee, sæculari judicio sine ulla penitus audientia decernimus reliquendos, bonis damnatorum, ecclesiis quibus deserviebant, secundum sanctiones legitimas applicandis.

Sane prædictam excommunicationem, cui omnes cupimus hæreticos subjacere, ab omnibus patriarchis archiepiscopis, episcopis in præcipuis festivitatis, et quoties solennitates habuerint, vel qualibet occasione, ad gloriam Dei, et reprehensionem hæreticæ pravitatis, decernimus innovari; auctoritate apostolica statuentes, ut si quis de ordine episcoporum, negligens in his fuerit vel desidiosus inventus, per triennale spatium ab episcopali habeatur dignitate et administratione suspensus.

Ad hæc, de episcopali consilio, et suggestionē culminis imperialis, et principum ejus, adjecimus, ut quilibet archiepiscopus vel episcopus, per se, vel archidiaconum suum, aut per alias honestas idoneasque personas, bis

vel semel in anno, parochiam in qua fama fuerit hæreticos habitare, circum-  
eat; et ibi tres vel plures boni testimonii viros, vel etiam si expedire vide-  
bitur totam viciniam jurare compellat, quod si quis ibidem hæreticos scive-  
rit, vel aliquos occulta conventicula celebrantes, seu a communi conversa-  
tione fidelium vita et moribus dissidentes, eos episcopo vel archidiacono  
studeat indicare. Episcopus autem seu archidiaconus, ad præsentiam suam  
convocet accusatos: qui nisi se ad eorum arbitrium juxta patriæ consue-  
tudinem ab objecto reatu purgaverint, vel si post purgationem exhibitam in  
pristinam fuerint relapsi perfidiam, episcoporum judicio puniantur. Si  
qui vero ex eis jurationem superstitione damnabili respuentes, jurare forte  
noluerint: ex hoc ipso hæretici judicentur, et pœnis quæ prænomina-  
tæ sunt percellantur.

Statuimus insuper, ut comites, barones, rectores, consules, civitatum et  
aliorum locorum, juxta commonitionem archiepiscoporum et episcoporum,  
præstito corporaliter juramento promittant, quod in omnibus prædictis  
fortiter et efficaciter, cum ab eis fuerint exinde requisiti, ecclesiam contra  
hæreticos et eorum complices adjuvabunt, et studebunt bona fide, juxta  
officium et posse suum, ecclesiastica similiter et imperialia statuta, circa  
ea quæ diximus, executioni mandare. Si vero id observare noluerint,  
honore, quem obtinent, spolientur; et ad alios nullatenus assumantur:  
eis nihilominus excommunicatione ligandis, et terris ipsorum interdicto  
ecclesiæ supponendis, Civitatem autem quæ his decretalibus institutis  
duxerit resistendam, vel contra commonitionem episcopi punire neglexerit  
resistentes: aliarum caret commercio civitatum, et episcopali se noverit  
dignitate privandam.

Omnes etiam fautores hæreticorum, tanquam perpetua infamia con-  
demnatos, ab advocatone et testimonio, et aliis publicis officiis, decernimus  
repellendos. Si qui vero fuerint qui a lege diocesanæ jurisdictionis ex-  
empti, soli subiaceant sedis apostolicæ potestati: nihilominus in iis quæ  
superius sunt contra hæreticos instituta, archiepiscoporum vel episcoporum  
subeant judicium: et eis in hac parte, tanquam a sede apostolica delegatis,  
non obstantibus libertatis suæ privilegiis, obsequantur." *Conc. X. 1737.*

#### No. IX. p. 183.

##### *Concilium Monspeliense.*

"IN fine quoque omnium addidit, ut quia in pluribus locis provincie  
Narbonensis, hæretici sunt, in consilio archiepiscopi et episcoporum sit,  
qualiter pro eorum, quæ superius statuta sunt, transgressione, interdicta  
debeant promulgari: ne occasione generalis et diutini interdicti, hæreticis  
occasio pateat ad simplices catholicæ fidei supplantandos." *Conc. X. 1799.*

#### No. X. p. 183.

##### *Odonis Constitutiones.*

"ITEM moneant solcite et assidue parochianos suos, ut in Albigenses  
hæreticos se accingant, et iterum eandem habebunt indulgentiam quam  
alias habuerunt. *Conc. X. 1809.*



## No. XI. p. 184.

*Concilium Senonense.*

"ANNO Domini MCXCVIII inquit Chronicon Autissiodorense Roberti Monachi S. Mariani, hæresis Populicana, omnium hæreseon feculentissima, virulentas radices suas late quidem, sed latenter, hoc tempore propagarat. Apud urbem Nivernis, Abbas S. Martini, et Decanus majoris Ecclesiæ, de hoc pestilentissimo errore notati, episcoporum sistuntur concilio, Senonis convocato: ibique Abbas deponitur, Decanus suspenditur: et sic ad sedem apostolicam destiuantur." *Conc. XI. P. I. 3.*

## No. XII. p. 188.

*Innocentii P. III. Epistola.*

"AD eliminandam omnio de patrimonio beati Petri hæreticorum spurcitiam, servanda in perpetuum lege sancimus ut quicumque hæreticus, et maxime *Paterenus*, in eo fuerit inventus, protinus capiatur et tradatur seculari Curiae puniendus secundum legitimas sanctiones. Bona vero ipsius omnia publicentur: ita ut de ipsis unam partem percipiat qui ceperit illum, alteram Curia quæ ipsum punierit, tertia vero deputetur ad constructionem murorum illius terræ ubi fuerit interceptus. Domus autem in qua hæreticus fuerit receptatus, funditus destruat, nec quicquam eam reedificare præsumat; sed fiat sordium receptaculum, quæ fuit latibulum perfidorum. Credentes præterea et defensores ac fautores eorum quarta bonorum suorum parte multentur, quæ ad usum reipublicæ deputentur." *Lib. X. Ep. 130. Tom. II. p. 74. Edit. Baluz.*

## No. XIII. p. 189.

*Concilium Lateranense IV.*

CAN. I. "Pater generans, Filius nascens, et Spiritus Sanctus procedens; consubstantiales et coæquales, co-omnipotentes et co-eterni, unum universorum principium, Creator omnium invisibilium et visibilium, spiritualium et corporalium, qui sua omnipotenti virtute simul ab initio temporis utramque de nihilo condidit creaturam, spiritualem et corporalem, angelicam videlicet et mundanam; ac deinde humanam quasi communem ex spiritu et corpore constitutam. Diabolus enim et dæmones alii, a Deo quidem natura creati sunt boni, sed ipse per se facti sunt mali:.....Sed descendit in animam, resurrexit in carne, ascenditque pariter in utroque: venturus in fine sæculi judicare vivos et mortuos, et redditurus singulis secundum opera sua, tam reprobis, quam electis. Qui omnes cum suis propriis corporibus resurgent, quæ nunc gestant:.....Sacramentum vero baptismi, quod ad invocationem individue Trinitatis, videlicet Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, consecratur in aqua, tam parvulis quam adultis, in forma ecclesiæ a quocumque rite collatum, proficit ad salutem. Et si



post susceptionem baptismi quisquam prolapsus fuerit in peccatum, per veram poenitentiam semper potest reparari. Non solum autem virgines et continentes, verum etiam conjugati, per fidem rectam et operationem bonam placentes Deo, ad aeternam merentur beatitudinem pervenire."

Can. XXI. "Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis, postquam ad annos discretionis pervenerit, omnia sua solus peccata confiteatur fideliter, saltem semel in anno, proprio sacerdoti, et injunctam sibi poenitentiam studeat pro viribus adimplere, suscipiens reverenter ad minus in Pascha Eucharistiae sacramentum: nisi forte de consilio proprii sacerdotis, ob aliquam rationabilem causam ad tempus ab ejus perceptione duxerit abstinendum: alioquin et vivens ab ingressu ecclesiae arceatur, et moriens Christiana careat sepultura." *Conc. XI. P. I. 142, 172.*

#### No. XIV. p. 191.

##### *Conradi Portuensis Ep. Epistola.*

"CIRCA dies istos, hæretici Albigenses constituerunt sibi Antipapam in finibus Bulgarorum, Croatiae, et Dalmatiae, nomine Bartholomæum. In quibus partibus error ille adeo invaluit, ut etiam Episcopos et alios multos regionum illarum ad suam allexerit pravitatem. Contra quem C. Portuensis Episcopus et in partibus illis Apostolicæ sedis Legatus, Rothomagensi Archiepiscopo scripsit in hæc verba: 'Venerabilibus patribus, Dei gratia Rothomagensi Archiepiscopo et ejus suffraganeis Episcopis, salutem in Domino Jesu Christo. Dum pro sponsa veri Crucifixi vestrum cogimur auxilium implorare, potius compellimur lacerari singultibus, et plorare. Ecce quod vidimus, loquimur: et quod scimus, testificamur. Ille homo perditus, qui extollitur super omne quod colitur, aut dicitur Deus; jam habet perfidiæ suæ præambulum Hæresiarcham, quem hæretici Albigenses Papam suam appellant, habitantem in finibus Bulgarorum, Croatiae, et Dalmatiae, juxta Hungarorum nationem. Ad eum confluant hæretici Albigenses, ut ad eorum consulta respondeat. Etenim de Carasona oriundus, vices illius Antipapæ gerens Bartholomæus hæreticorum Episcopus, funestam ei exhibendo reverentiam, sedem et locum concessit in villa quæ Porlos appellatur, et se ipsum transtulit in partes Tholosanas. Iste Bartholomæus in literarum suarum undique discurrentium tenore, se in primo salutationis alloquio intitulat in hunc modum: 'Bartholomæus servus servorum sanctæ fidei tali salutem. Ipse etiam inter alias enormitates creat Episcopos, et ecclesias perfide ordinare contendit. Rogamus igitur attentius, et per aspersionem sanguinis Jesu Christi, et propensius obsecramus, auctoritate Domini Papæ qua fuugimur in hac parte, districtè præcipientes; quatenus veniatis Senonis in octavis apostolorum Petri et Pauli proxime futuris. Ubi et alii Prælati Franciæ, favente Domino, congregabuntur; parati consilium dare in negotio prædicto; et cum aliis, qui ibidem aderunt, providere super negotio Albigensi. Alioquin inobedientiam vestram domino Papæ curabimus significari. Data Planium, sexto Nonas Julii.' Sed hunc tandem tumultum mors prædicti Antipapæ celeriter terminavit." *Matt. Paris, an. 1223, Tom. II. p. 317.*

## No. XV. p. 192.

*Concilium Tolosanum.*

"I. STATUIMUS itaque, ut archiepiscopi et episcopi in singulis parochiis, tam in civitatibus, quam extra, sacerdotem unum, et duos vel tres bonæ opinionis laicos, vel plures, si opus fuerit, sacramento constringant, qui diligenter, fideliter, et frequenter, inquirant hæreticos in eisdem parochiis, domos singulas et cameras subterraneas aliqua suspicione notabiles perscrutando, et appensa, seu adjuncta in ipsis tectis ædificia, seu quæcumque alia labitula, quæ omnia destrui præcipimus, perquirendo: et si quos invenerint hæreticos, credentes, fautores, et receptatores, seu defensores eorum, adhibita cautela ne fugere possint, archiepiscopo vel episcopo, dominis locorum, seu bailivis eorundem, cum omni festinantia studeant intimare, ut animadversione debita puniantur.

VI. Illam autem domum, in qua fuerit inventus hæreticus, diruendam decernimus: et locus ipse sive fundus confiscetur.

X. Item statuimus, ut si qui hæretici vestiti, hæresi sponte dimissa fuerint ad catholicam fidem reversi, suum recognoscentes errorem, non remaneant in villa in qua fuerant antea conversati, si villa suspecta de hæresi habeantur: sed collocentur in villa catholica, quæ nulla sit hæresis suspicione notata. In detestatione quoque veteris erroris duas cruces portent de cætero altius præminentes, alterius coloris quam sint vestes eorum, unam a dextris, et alteram a sinistris. Nec propter cruces excusentur aliquis, nisi habeat litteras sui episcopi testimoniales de reconciliatione ipsius. Nec de cætero talibus officia publica committantur: nec ad actus legitimos admittantur, nisi per dominum papam, vel per legatum ab ipsius latere destinatum, fuerint in integrum restituti, injuncta sibi pœnitentia competenti.

XI. Hæretici autem qui timore mortis, vel alia quacumque causa, dummodo non sponte, redierint ad catholicam unitatem: ad agendam pœnitentiam per episcopum loci in muro cum tali includantur cautela, quod facultatem non habeant alios corrumpendi. Quibus ab illis qui bona eorum tenuerint, provideatur in necessariis secundum dispositionem prælati: si vero bona non habuerint, eis provideatur per prælatum.

XIV. Prohibemus etiam, ne libros veteris testamenti aut novi, laici permittantur habere: nisi forte psalterium, vel breviarium pro divinis officiis, aut horas beatæ Mariæ, aliquis ex devotione habere velit. Sed ne præmissos libros habeat in vulgari translato, arctissime inhibemus.

XV. Statuimus etiam, quod quicumque fuerint infamati de hæresi, vel suspicione notati, officio medici de cætero non utantur. Cumque aliquem infirmum de manu presbyteri sui sacram communionem contigerit recepis: adhibeatur ei diligens custodia usque ad diem obitus sui vel convalescentiæ, ne hæreticus aut de hæresi suspectus ad ipsum infirmum possit habere accessum: cum ex accessu talium, nefanda intellexerimus et enormia pluries configisse." *Conc. XI. P. I. 427.*



## No. XVI. p. 195.

*Statuta Raimundi Comitis Tolosani.*

"ITEM statuimus, quod bona eorum qui fuerunt hæretici vestiti, licet recesserint sponte ab hæreticorum observantia, nisi de reconciliatione suas litteras testimoniales ostenderint, vel per alias personas catholicas et honestas illud ostenderint, vel probaverint, confiscantur. Et etiam si de reconciliatione constiterit, nisi cruces super hoc a suo episcopo admoniti ad portandum assumpserint, aut assumptas autoritate sua propria deposuerint, aut cum exterius super vestes, extraque partem pectoris anteriores prominentes portare debeant, eas celare intra vestes deprehensi fuerint, pœna simili puniantur, et tamen sive bona habuerint, sive non, ad hoc modo debito compellantur.

Item statuimus, quia intelleximus quod credentes hæreticorum, cum proponunt se facere secundum eorum ritum detestabilem hæreticos perfectos, ante precedens tempus possessiones suas, et hereditates in fraudem fisci vendunt, vel donant, vel pignari obligant, aut modis alienant aliis: hujusmodi contractibus irritis non obstantibus prædicta bona confiscantur, si consideratis circumstantiis dictorum contractuum et ipsorum contrabentium, nobis fuerit visum, eos in quos dicta bona traslata fuerint, fraudis participes extitisse.

Item quia intelleximus quod credentes quidam sub specie mercaturæ vel peregrinationis, transferunt se ad hæreticos, ut sub tali absentia eludant fiscum, et ei subtrahant bona sua: si coram episcopo loci, qui super hoc propinquos vel eos qui bona hujusmodi absentium tenent, monuerit, requisierint, et ab eisdem propinquis, vel tenentibus bona eorum infra annum, computandum a tempore monitionis ejusdem episcopi, probatum non fuit legitime, illos absentes justa causa et rationabili abfuisse, et tamen abesse: statuimus, ut si alias suspecti fuerint, contra ipsos tanquam contra hæreticos præsumatur, et eorum bona confiscentur." *Conc. XI. P. I. 450.*

## No. XVII. p. 196.

*Concilium Biterrense.*

"ITEM reconciliati de hæresi, qui duas cruces prominentes, ad mandatum Episcopi portare noluerint, pro hæreticis habeantur, et bona eorum confiscantur." *Conc. XI. P. I. 454.*

## No. XVIII. p. 197.

*Concilium Narbonense.*

"PETRUS Dei gratia Narbonensis, Joannes Arclatensis, Raimundus Aquensis, archiepiscopi, cæterique prælati, quorum sigilla huic chartule sunt appensa: Dilectis et fidelibus in Christo filiis Ordinis Prædicatorum fratribus inquisitoribus hæreticorum, per memoratas et circumjacentes provincias constitutis, salutem in Domino.



VI. Omnes vero faciatis culpas suas, clero et populo convocatis, publice confiteri, et abjurare, atque jurare prout in mandatis apostolicis, et statutis domini Romani plenius continentur: nisi ubi culpæ levitas, et scandalum enormitas, rigori etiam huic quicquam ostenderent detrahendum. Et de singulis fiant publica instrumenta continentia culpas, abjuraciones, promissiones, et pœnitentias eorundem: ne ulterius perire possit vel latere veritas diu cœlata, nunc autem a Domino tam mirabiliter quam misericorditer revelata.

XXIX. De quibus, et ex quibus credentes possunt judicari.

Sane inter culpas ex quibus *credentes* possunt judicari, ne ulterius dubitetis, has esse firmiter arbitramur: Si reverentiam fecerunt hæreticis, ubi credentes, orationes ipsorum implorantes, et bonos homines profitentes, quasi *adorant* illos; si *consolationes* eorum, ubi eum, quem *consolantur*, in *hæreticum recipientes*, per *impositionem manuum* se salvare prodictionaliter mentiuntur: aut, servitio eorundem, ubi majore ipsorum librum tenente apertum, per ipsum, quasi sub generali confessione, remissionem intelligunt fieri peccatorum: aut cœnæ *Valdensi*, ubi die cœnæ mensa posita, et pane superposito, Valdensis unus benedicens, et frangens, dansque astantibus, credit secundum damnabilem sectam conficere corpus Christi, non causa prodendi vel reprehendendi eos, vel alia commendabili seu excusabili, affuerunt: si eisdem Valdensibus peccata sua confessi fuerint, ut solet et debet quis sacerdoti proprio confiteri: si pacem ab hæreticis, seu Valdensibus, vel panem ab eis benedictum a quocumque sibi missum vel datum, scienter et damnabiliter receperunt: si crediderunt eos in sua secta salvari posse, vel esse bonos, vel sanctos homines, vel Dei amicos, vel nuncios, vel bonæ conversationis, vel vitæ, vel eorum persecutores peccare, vel si eos taliter laudaverunt, vel si aliquo qualicumque signo seu verbo, in eis se fidem vel credentiam habuisse, in jure vel alibi sunt confessi: si eos libenter et pluries receperunt, audierunt, visitaverunt; victualia seu alia dedierunt, seu miserunt eisdem: orationes ab eis vel epistolas, vel evangelia didicerunt, Hæc enim et similia, etsi non probent singula, multa juvant: præsertim cum Joannes dicat in epistola: 'Si quis venit ad vos, et hanc doctrinam non affert, nolite eum recipere in domo, nec Ave ei dixeritis. Qui enim dicit illi, Ave, communicat operibus ejus malignis.' Hæc autem omnia intelligimus, cum hi qui sic culpabiles sunt inventi, sciebant illos, quibus vel per quos ista fiebant, esse hæreticos, vel Valdenses: nec ignorabant quod sancta ecclesia tales, propter errores proprios sectasque suas damnabiles, ab unitate catholicæ fidei segregatos denunciavit, et excommunicavit, persequitur, atque damnat. Nec dicenti se hoc ignorasse, leviter est credendum. Quis enim est solus ille peregrinus, qui damnationem hæreticorum, et Valdensium nescierit a longe retro annis, tam justissime factam, tam famosam, tam publicatam, tam prædicatam, tot et tantis expensis, laboribus, et sudoribus fidelium insecutam, et tot mortibus ipsorum infidelium solemniter damnatorum et publicè punitorum, tam firmiter sigillatam? utique non est ferendus sic evidens discipulus mendacii magistrorum, sed potius cum ipsis damnatis damnandus, qui verum tam notorium diffusetur: quod etiam ipsius rei gestæ modus ignorari non potuisse arguit et convincit. Nam et latere volentes, et celari quærentes hæretici ac Valdenses, suis se tantum

credentibus credunt, cum eisdem supradicta mala et similia in latibulis pertrantes. Quæ, isti quidam ex his similiter negent se illorum errores dividisse, vel auditis credidisse, a participatione tamen credendi eisdem erroribus saltem implicite, immunes esse non sinunt. Licet enim isti nihil presse dicant contra aliquem articulum specialem, tacite tamen et per consequentiam dicunt: cum dicant et sentiant verbo vel signo illos perfide esse bonos, quos constat ab ecclesia reprobatos. Quinimmo cum supradictæ salutis animarum suarum prodesse crediderint, aut salutem extra ecclesiam esse credendo, aut quos ecclesia damnat, extra eam esse non credendo procul dubio erraverunt. Equidem cum discretionem vestræ, dilecti filii Christo, negotium istud, tam dominus papa, quam dominus legatus, in propriisque provinciis providerint committendum. Hæc vobis scribimus, ne ut vos velimus nostris obligare consiliis, vel arctare, cum non deceat cessam vobis discretam arbitrii libertatem, aliorum consiliis, formis, regulis, quam sedis apostolicæ, in ipsius negotii præjudicium coarctatam sed vestram devotionem cupimus adjuvare, sicut et nobis ab ipsa sede apostolica est mandatum: ut qui nostra portatis onera, consilium a nobis et auxilium, in ipso nostro negotio, caritate mutua reportetis." *Conc. XI. P. I. 487.*

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No. XIX. p. 200.

*Capitula a Gregorio Papa IX. contra Patarenos edita.*

"EXCOMMUNICAMUS et anathematizamus universos hæreticos, Patarenos, Pauperes de Lugduno, Passaginos, Josepinos, Aristodistas, Speronistas, et alios quibuscumque nominibus censcantur: falsam quidem habentes diversas, sed caudas adinvicem colligatas, quia de vanis conveniunt in idipsum." *Conc. XI. P. I. 334.*

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No. XX. p. 201.

*Gregorii Papæ IX. Epistola.*

"ILLE humani generis pervicax inimicus, omnium malorum incensor, quem de supremis ad ima superbia sua prostravit, non contentus quod suæ fraudis nequitia hominem perduxit ad casum, acuminis et missæ applicandum, callide eum nititur pestiferis retibus irretire: astute parans insidias ne resurgat, locum a quo ceciderat obtenturus. Novissimis autem diebus istis, fidem nris perfidia depravare per ministros suos iniquitatis operarios, venena spargit mortifera; seditiose considerans quod familiaris hostis sit efficax ad nocendum, qui quasi dulcia præmittentes, ea pungunt ut scorpio, in aureo tandem calice Babylonis virus pestilentie fusuri. Licet enim hæretici hactenus diutius latitantes sicut cancer perirent in occulto, et velut vulpes lætarentur vineam Domini Sabaoth moliri: jam tamen peccatis exigentibus, in aperto, quasi equi parati prælium, præsumunt manifeste insurgere contra eam, in quibusdam locis publice prædicando, quærentes in cibum simplices, et in prædam indoctos ac illaqueare nihilo minus fideles quoslibet suis circumventionibus et



entes, facti magistri erroris qui nunquam fuerunt discipuli veritatis. Unde expedit quod insurgant viriliter contra eos," &c. *Conc. XI. P. I. 335.*

### No. XXI. p. 202.

#### *Concilium Tarraconense.*

"In primis quæritur qui dicantur *hæretici*, qui *suspecti*, qui *credentes*, qui *fautores*, qui *receptatores*, qui *defensores*, et qui *relapsi*: cum ista genera hominum in canone explicantur. Et videtur quod,

*Hæretici* sunt, qui in suo errore perdurant, sicut sunt Inzabbatati, qui dicunt in aliquo casu non esse jurandum, et potestatibus ecclesiasticis vel sæcularibus non esse obediendum, et pœnam corporalem non esse infligendam in aliquo; et similia.

*Credentes* vero dictis hæresibus similiter hæretici sunt dicendi.

*Suspectus* de hæresi potest dici qui audit prædicationem vel lectionem Inzabbatorum, vel qui flexit genua orando cum eis, vel qui dedit osculum eis: vel qui credit ipsos Inzabbatos esse bonos homines, vel similia, quæ possunt probabiliter suspicionem inducere. Et potest dici *suspectus simpliciter* esse qui semel oravit, vel alterum fecit de prædictis cum eis. Si vero pluries andivisset prædicationem vel lectionem, vel orasset, vel aliquid aliud de prædictis fecisset cum eis, posset dici *vehementer suspectus*. Si autem prædicta omnia fecisset, maxime si pluries, posset *vehementissime* dici *suspectus*. Ista ideo dicimus, ut discretus iudex purgationem possit gravare vel moderari, prout magis visum fuerit expedire.

*Celatores* credimus eos qui viderunt Inzabbatos in platea, vel in domo, vel in alio loco, et cognoverunt eos Inzabbatos, et non revelaverunt eos, cum haberent aptitudinem revelandi eos ecclesiae, vel iustituario, vel aliis qui possent eos capere.

*Occultatores* dicimus qui fecerunt pactum de non revelando hæreticos vel Inzabbatos, vel alias procuraverunt quod non revelarentur.

*Receptatores* sunt qui scienter bis vel ultra receperunt hæreticos vel Inzabbatos in domo sua, vel in alio loco suo. *Receptaculum* credimus esse domum vel hospitium, ubi hæretici vel Inzabbatati bis vel pluries conveniunt ad prædicationem vel lectionem: vel etiam ubi hæretici vel Inzabbatati pluries hospitantur.

*Defensores* dicimus, qui scienter defendunt hæreticos vel Inzabbatos verbo vel facto, vel quocumque ingenio, in terris suis, vel alibi, quo minus ecclesia possit exercere suum officium ad extirpandam hæreticam pravitatem.

*Fautores* credimus omnes supradictos posse dici secundum magis et minus: et etiam qui alias quocumque modo eis dederint consilium, auxilium, vel favorem. Et omnes *fautores* credimus posse dici *suspectos*, ita quod debent se purgare, et abjurare hæresim, et omnem fautoriam: et debent sanctæ matri ecclesiae reconciliari.

*Relapsos* dicimus illos qui post abjuratam hæresim vel renunciatam, revertuntur in pristinam credentiam hæresis. Eodem modo dicimus *relapsos in fautoriam* illos qui post abjuratam hæresim vel fautoriam, bene-



faciunt hæreticis, vel celant eos. Et omnes prædictos dicimus excommunicatos majori anathemate: exceptis suspectis sine fautoria, si forte inventiantur.

Dubitatio etiam oritur apud quosdam, utrum relapsi in credentiam, et hæretici dogmatizantes, si postquam fuerint deprehensi voluerint pœnitere relinqui debeant iudicio sæculari? Et videtur nobis quod non: sed in quocumque casu tales ad intrusionem sunt condemnandi.

*De forma purgationis.*

Suspectus de hæresi purgabit se publice in hunc modum: 'Ego N. juro per Deum omnipotentem, et per hæc sancta Dei evangelia quæ in manibus meis tenco, coram vobis domino N. archiepiscopo vel episcopo, et coram aliis vobis assistentibus, quod non sum vel fuit Inzabbatatus Waldensis, vel Pauper de Lugduno, nec hæreticus in aliqua secta hæresis per ecclesiam damnata; nec credo, nec credidi eorum erroribus, nec credam aliquo tempore vitæ meæ: immo profiteor et protestor me credere, et semper in posterum crediturum fidem catholicam, quam sancta Romana ecclesia et apostolica publice tenet, docet, et prædicat, et vos domine archiepiscopo vel episcopo, et cæteri prælati ecclesiæ universalis tenent, prædicant publice, atque docent.' *Conc. XI. P. I. 593.*

No. XXII. p. 207.

*Concilium Biterrense.*

Can. VI. Cum Peccatores sint ad pœnitentiam invitandi juxta Dominicam vocem, gaudere oportet si pœnitentiam impositam libentur suscipiunt et supportant. Quocirca statuimus, et in virtute Sancti Spiritus inhibemus, ne pœnitentibus, quibus cruces pro crimine hæresis imponuntur, irrisio ulla fiat, nec a locis propriis seu communibus commerciis excludantur, ne retardetur conversio peccatorum, et ne conversi propter scandalum abjecta pœnitentia relabantur. Et si moniti desistere noluerint, per censuram ecclesiasticam compellantur.

Can. IX. Moneantur etiam comites, barones, rectores et consules civitatum, et aliorum locorum, ac aliæ potestates sæculares quibuscumque fungantur officiis, quod ad commonitionem diœcesanorum promittant juramento corporaliter præstito, quod fideliter et efficaciter contra hæreticos et eorum complices adjuvabunt ecclesiam bona fide juxta officium et posse suum, et quod de terris suæ jurisdictioni subjectis universos hæreticos ab ecclesia denotatos pro viribus exterminare curabunt: et ad hoc, si necesse fuerit, per censuram ecclesiasticam compellantur.

Can. XII. Idem de medicis eorundem præcipimus observari.

Can. XIII. Qui vero quondam hæretici vestiti vel notati fuerint, aut meritis suspecti sunt, a bajuliis et officiis publicis, si qua habent, præcipimus amoveri ex toto, nec de cætero ad hujusmodi assumantur.

Chap. IV. Ab illis qui sic citati coram vobis infra tempus comparuerint assignatum, recipiatis juramenta de mera et plena super facto labis hæreticæ, tam de se quam de aliis vivis et mortuis, dicenda, quam noverint, veritate. Ac postmodum per vos, vel per scriptores, diligenter interro-

gantes eosdem de singulis, de quibus requirendi videbuntur, faciatis confessiones ac depositiones ipsorum fideliter scribi, et in actis inquisitionis deponi, aut per publicam, si potestis habere, personam, aut per aliam idoneam, et juratam, cui et alius vir idoneus juratus similiter adjungatur : ut sic scriptura hujusmodi vel per manum publicam, vel per duos, ut tetigimus, viros idoneos in actis reposita et conscripta, ac ei qui confitetur, et deponit coram inquisitore et notario, vel dictis duobus viris idoneis recitata, robur obtineat firmitatis.

Cap. XVI. Perfectos hæreticos seu vestitos coram discretis aliquibus et fidelibus examinetis secreto, ipsos ad conversionem prout poteritis inducentes, et converti volentibus vos exhibeatis favorabiles et benignos, cum per tales multum fuerit illuminatum negotium et promotum. Ac ipsorum pœnitentias pro qualitate conversionis et meriti mitigetis, vel quantum vobis visum fuerit, deferatis.

Cap. XXVIII. Et ne bailivias seu administrationes teneant: nec sint in consiliis, vel familiis potentum: neque utantur vel medici vel notarii officio: nec ad alia officia publica, vel ad actus accedant legitimos. *Cone. XI. P. I. 676.*

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#### No. XXIII. p. 209.

##### *Concilium Albiense.*

Can. X. Hæreticis autem, quandocumque ad fidem catholicam fuerint conversi, credentibus, fautoribus, defensoribus seu receptatoribus eorundem, nulla de cætero prorsus officia publica ab aliquibus committantur, nec ad aliquos actus legitimos admittantur, nisi per dominum Papam, vel ejus legatum prius fuerint in integrum restituti.

Can. XIV. Porro Tolosano concilio (quo cavetur, quicumque fuerit de hæresis infamia vel suspicione notatus, officio medici de cætero non utatur) addentes: statuimus, ut nullus medicus præsumat de cætero practicare in terris hæresis suspicione notatis, nisi prius de fide sua præcipue, vita et moribus, fuerit a loci episcopo approbatus. *Cone. XI. P. I. 720.*

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#### No. XXIV. p. 350.

##### *Eckbertus Schonaugiensis.*

ILLUSTRISSIMO rectori pontificalis cathedræ in Colonia Domino Reginaldo, frater Eckbertus Schonaugien. Cœnobii monachus, hoc munusculum ex meditationibus suis.

In vestra diœcesi frequenter contingit deprehendi quosdam hæreticos, qui diebus istis plurimum notabiles sunt in erroribus suis. Hi sunt quos vulgo *Catharos* vocant: gens perniciosa nimis Catholicæ fidei, quam velut tinæe demoliuntur et corrumpunt, ambulantes in astutia multa. Muniti sunt verbis sacræ scripturæ, quæ aliquo modo sectis eorum concordare videntur: et ex eis sciunt defendere errores suos, et oblatrare Catholicæ veritati: rectæ autem intelligentiæ, quæ in sacris verbis latet, et non sine magna discretione agnoscitur, nimis expertes sunt. Ego itaque operæ





trinæ, quæ a sanctis Apostolis, et ab ipso domino Salvatore nobis tradita est. Ipsi etenim sunt de quibus Apostolus Paulus in epistola ad Timotheum ita locutus est: 'Spiritus autem manifeste dicit, quia in novissimis diebus discedent quidam a fide, attendentes spiritibus erroris et doctrinis dæmoniorum, in hypocrisi loquentium mendacium, et prohibentium nubere, abstinere a cibis quos Deus creavit ad percipiendum cum gratiarum actione.'

*De conjugio Hæresis prima.*

Et quidem vere hi sunt ad quos pertinet hic sermo, quoniam nuptias reprobant et condemnant. ita quod non aliud quam æternam damnationem promittunt eis, qui in conjugali vita permanent usque in finem. Approbare quidem se dicunt quidam ex eis, illorum conjugium, qui virgines conveniunt, sed nec illos salvari posse dicunt, nisi ante finem vitæ suæ abinvicem separentur: ac per hoc tale quoque conjugium prohibent: Carnem omnem vitant, qui perfecte sectam illorum ingressi sunt; non ea causa qua monachi, aut alii spiritualiter viventes ab ea abstinere, sed idcirco vitandum esse esum carnis dicunt, quia de concubitu nata sit omnis caro: et ex hoc immundum esse arbitrantur. Et hanc quidem rationem manifestius dicunt, sed in oculis suis, quod pejus est, dicunt, videlicet omnem carnem facturam diaboli esse: ideoque nec in summis necessitatibus eam ullatenus gustant. De baptismo varie loquuntur. Baptismum nihil prodesse dicunt parvulis qui baptizantur: quia per seipsos baptismum petere non possunt: quia nullam fidem possunt profiteri. Est autem aliud quod inde communius sed occultius loquuntur, videlicet quod nullus baptismus in aqua prosit ad salutem. Inde et eos qui ad sectam illorum transeunt, suo quodam occulto modo rebaptizant, quem baptismum in Spiritu Sancto et igne fieri dicunt. De animabus mortuorum talem sententiam habent, quod in ipsa hora exitus sui, vel transeunt ad æternam beatitudinem, vel ad æternam damnationem. Non enim recipiunt quod credit universalis Ecclesia, videlicet esse quosdam purgatorias pœnas, in quibus animæ quorundam electorum ad tempus examinentur pro peccatis suis, de quibus in hac vita per condignam satisfactionem ad plenum purgatæ non sunt. Propterea ergo arbitrantur superfluum et vanum esse orare pro mortuis, elemosynas dare, missas celebrare, et irridere pulsationes campanarum quas facimus, quæ tamen pia ratione in Ecclesiis fiunt, ut videlicet vivi ad orandum pro mortuis commoveantur, et ad memoriam propriæ mortis excitentur. Missas quæ in ecclesiis celebrantur omnino spernunt et pro nihilo ducunt. Nam si forte cum populo in quo habitant, ad audiendum missas, sive etiam ad percipiendam Eucharistiam accedunt, omnino hoc simulationis faciunt, ne infidelitas eorum possit notari. Ordinem quippe sacerdotii in Romana Ecclesia, et in cunctis Ecclesiis Catholicæ fidei omnino perisse dicunt, nec usquam nisi in secta eorum veros sacerdotes inveniri. Corpus Domini et sanguinem nullo modo nostra consecratione fieri, aut a nobis per communicationem percipi posse credunt: se autem solos in mensis suis corpus Domini facere dicunt. Sed in verbis illis dolum habent: non enim verum illud corpus Christi significant, quod de virgine natum fuisse credimus, et quod passum est in cruce: sed sui ipsius carnem corpus Domini vocant: et in eo quod sua corpora nutriunt cibus mensæ suæ,

pretium duxi errores eorum describere, et annotare auctoritates scripturarum ex quibus se defendunt, ac demonstrare quomodo sane intelligi debeant simulque eas partes fidei nostrae, quibus se opponunt, proponere: et quia scripturae auctoritatibus, quibus vexationibus defendi possint, cum super adjutorio demonstrare: ut qui ista legere et in memoria habere curaverint aliquanto promptiores sint ad disceptandum cum illis, si quando, ut assoluit in populo fuerint deprehensi. Valde enim linguosi sunt, ac semper prompti illis est quod adversum nos dicere possint. Et est non parva verecundia nostris, qui litteras sciunt, ut sint muti et elingues in conspectu illorum. Cum essem Canonicus in Ecclesia Bunnensi, saepe ego et una cum meo Bertolphus, cum talibus altercati sumus: et diligenter attente errores eorum ac defensiones. Multa quoque de illis innotuerunt per nos, qui exierant de conventiculis eorum et resipuerant a laqueis diaboli. Propterea et abundantius ea quae de illis sunt, et quae contra illos dici possunt in hunc librum cum Abbatis mei Domini Hildelini exhortatione congestae vestraeque celsitudini antiquae familiaritatis causa transmissi, quatenus forte coram vobis tales examinari contigerit, munita sit ex his sermonibus prudentia vestra, ad obstruenda ora loquentium iniqua, et ad confirmandum vacillantes animos seductibilium hominum, qui dolosis sermonibus illorum decepti, ambulare eos secundum veritatem. Rogo autem, ut si rationalem forte judicaveritis hujus libri compositionem, et in aliquo utiliter Christianae religioni fore perspexeritis, in commune cum venire faciatis, sit in scandalum generationi illi pessimae cunctis diebus.

Unam pretiosam margaritam a sponso suo Christo Jesu in dotem accepit virgo Ecclesia, fidem Catholicam: et haec, quod dolendum est, insidiatores multos patitur his diebus, qui moluntur conterere eam. Periculis novissimorum temporum, ut aestimo, venire coeperunt, de quibus in Evangelio Salvator prophetavit, quando de signis quae diem judicii essent praecessura, loquens ad discipulos, sicut scribit Matthaeus, haec inter cetera dicebat: 'Tunc si quis vobis dixerit, ecce hic Christus, aut illic, nolite credere: surgent enim pseudochristi et pseudoprophetae, et dabunt signa magna et prodigia, ita ut in errorem ducantur, si fieri potest, etiam electi. Ecce praedixi vobis. Si ergo dixerint vobis, ecce hic est in deserto, nolite exire: Ecce in penetralibus est, nolite credere.' Et quidem si tam insipientis adhuc quispiam venerit, qui se dicat esse Christum, nondum audimus: sed de pseudoprophetais qui dicunt esse in penetralibus Christum jam multa percepimus. Ecce enim quidam latibulosi homines perversi, qui per multa tempora latuerunt, et occulte fidem Christianam in multis stultae simplicitatis hominibus corruerunt, ita per omnes terrae multiplicati sunt, ut grande periculum patiatur Ecclesia Dei a veneno pessimo, quod undique adversus eam effundunt: nam sermo eorum serpit cancer, et quasi lepra volatilis longe lateque discurret, pretiosa membra Christi contaminans. Hos nostra Germania, *Catharos*: Flandria, *Pipht* Gallia, *Texerant*, ab usu texendi appellat. Sicut de eis praedixit Dominus dicunt in penetralibus esse Christum: quia veram fidem Christi, et verum cultum Christi, non alibi esse dicunt, nisi in conventiculis suis, quae habent in cellariis et in textis, et in hujusmodi subterraneis domibus. Apostolorum vitam agere se dicunt: sed contrarii sunt fidei sanctae, et sanctae d



trinae, quæ a sanctis Apostolis, et ab ipso domino Salvatore nobis tradita est. Ipsi etenim sunt de quibus Apostolus Paulus in epistola ad Timotheum ita locutus est: 'Spiritus autem manifeste dicit, quia in novissimis diebus discedent quidam a fide, attendentes spiritibus erroris et doctrinis dæmoniorum, in hypocrisi loquentium mendacium, et prohibentium nubere, abstinere a cibis quos Deus creavit ad percipiendum cum gratiarum actione.'

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corpus Domini se facere dicunt: Nec intactum præteribo quod audivi quodam viro fideli, qui agnita eorum perfidia et secretis quibusdam tupidinibus, de societate eorum exivit. Nam in Domino Salvatore ita eos affirmabat, ut dicerent eum non vere natum ex virgine, nec vere humanam carnem eum habuisse, sed simulatam carnis speciem: nec ex mortuis eum resurrexisse, sed mortem et resurrectionem simulasse. Propt quod et Christianis Pascha celebrantibus, vel negligenter hoc celebrant, inter ipsos sunt vel occasiones quærunt discedendi de medio eorum quibus cohabitant, nec cum eis solemnizare cogantur. Celebrant autem pro aliud quoddam festum, in quo occisus est hæresiarcha eorum Manichæus, cujus procul dubio hæresim sectantur, quod beatus Augustinus contra Manichæos *Beina* appellari dixit. Meus autem recitator ab eis quibus ipse fuerat commoratus, *Malitosa* dixit vocari, et autumnali tempore celebrare. Præter hæc et novam quandam et hactenus inauditam insaniam de eis conpertam habemus, quam manifeste confessi sunt quidam eorum cum examinarentur a clero in civitate Colonia, ubi et a populo ferventis zeli combusti sunt. Dicebant enim animas humanas non aliud esse, nisi illos apostata Spiritus, qui in principio mundi de regno cælorum ejecti sunt: et eos in humanis corporibus posse per bona opera promereri salutem: sed hoc non nisi inter eos, qui ad eorum pertinent sectam. Talia jam longo temporis latenter susurraverunt, lustrantes ubique domos seductibilium hominum et multas in his temporibus infelices animas, ut audivimus, captivas ducunt retinaculis susurri pessimi. Circumeunt (ut ita dicam) mare et aridam viciant Catharum unum: et omnem religiosam conversationem impia detractione commaculant: nec quenquam salvari posse, nisi ad eorum transierit sectam, affirmant. Itaque cum omni diligentia evigilare necesse esset omnes qui zelum Dei habent, et exercitatos habent sensus in scripturis sanctis, ad capiendum vulpeculas has pessimas, quæ dæmoliuntur vineam Domini Sabaoth. Multi quidem sunt errores illorum, ita ut nemo omne enumerando prosequi valeat: sed eos qui maxime periculosi mihi visi sunt distinxi, et in una serie disposui: quoniam annuente Deo specialiter adverte eos loqui mihi propositum est.

SERMO II. *De eo quod doctrina Christiana occultanda non sit.* . . . .

nunquam manifeste inter vos prædicetis doctrinam vestram sine qua neminem salvari posse arbitramini, cum Dominus dicat: 'Qui me confessus fuerit coram hominibus, confitebor et ego eum coram patre meo, qui in cæli est.' Si forte acciderit, ut aliquis vestrum pro errore suo deprehensus fuerit et deductus ante iudices Ecclesie, aut omnino negatis fidem vestram, aut tunc primum aliquos errores vestros confitemini cum de vita amplius non speratis: sed illa confessio non est ad gloriam vobis, et est quasi confessio furis, qui cum de vita sua desperat, latrocinia sua impudenter confitetur sub laqueo, et sunt interemptiones, quas aliquando a populo zelante pro lege Dei sui aliqui vestrum patiuntur, non quasi passiones Apostolorum sed quasi judicia furum et latronum.

SERMO VIII. Non autem me latet quod de eis quoque qui in provectiori ætate baptizantur, non minorem hæresim tenetis, quam est ea quæ de baptismo parvulorum nunc pertractata est. Nam baptizandum quidem esse hominem dicitis, cum ad annos discretionis pervenerit, non autem in

aqua, sed in igne, et nihil prodesse cuiquam baptismum aquæ. Hujus autem erroris defensionem sumitis ex verbis Joannis, quæ de Domino Salvatore pronunciavit dicens: 'Ille vos baptizavit in Spiritu Sancto et igne.' Hinc est quod eos quos assumitis in societatem Cathariæ vestræ, sicut adivi a quodam qui expertus fuerat secreta vestra, tali modo rebaptizatis. Convenientibus vobis in unum in obscuro aliquo penetrali, primum hoc diligentissime procuratur, ne forte aliquam fenestram, aut per ostium quisquam eorum qui foris sunt, visu vel auditu percipiat, quod intus geritur, quoniam scriptum est: 'Qui male agit, odit lucem,' locantur luminaria copiose in parietibus cunctis: statur per ordinem in circuitu cum reverentia magna, quoniam sancta res agitur, quæ tamen magis complacet diabolo quam Deo. Statuitur in medio infelix ille qui baptizandus sive Catharizandus est, et assistit ei archicatharus, tenens in manu libellum deputatum ad officium hoc. Quem imponens vertici ejus dicit benedictiones, quæ potius maledictiones vocandæ sunt, orantibus cæteris qui circumstant, et faciunt filium gehennæ, non regni Dei, sicque perficitur ille baptismus. Dicitur autem hic baptismus fieri in igne, propter ignem luminum, quæ in circuitu ardent.

SERMO XI. Infamati estis et de hoc, quod de corpore et sanguine Domini nostri Jesu Christi non eam fidem habeatis, quam Ecclesia Catholica confitetur. . . . Nostra fides hæc est, et sicut aiunt vos omnino renuitis credere, quod ab aliquo sacerdote sive bono sive malo possit ulla consecratione fieri corpus Domini: et quod ab aliquo homine sumi possit ad manducandum. Ego autem non diffido, et jam in hoc errore vos esse: quandoquidem cunctos sacerdotes Ecclesiæ, qui sacramenta Dominica tractant, in contemptu habetis, et nihilipenditis omne officium eorum. Memini vidisse me aliquando in præsentia Coloniensis Archiepiscopi Arnoldi, quendam non parvi nominis virum, qui de schola Catharorum reversus fuerat ad suos a quo dum inquireremus diligenter, quæ essent hæreses illorum, ita respondit: 'Brevi sermone ea de quibus interrogatis, concludam: Omnia quæ creditis, omnia quæ agitis in Ecclesia, illi falsa et inania judicant.' Hæc ergo cum dixisset, sufficit responsio Archiepiscopo, et nil amplius ab eo requirendum esse judicavit. . . . Fuit mihi concertatio de his rebus quadam vice in domo mea Bunnæ, cum quodam viro qui suspectus erat nobis quod esset de secta Catharorum: et contigit ut incideremus ad loquendum de sacerdotibus malis, et dicebat ita de eis: 'Quomodo potest fieri, ut qui tam irrationabiliter vivunt, distribuant in Ecclesia corpus Domini?' et dixi ei: 'Nonne legimus quod Pilatus qui Salvatorem crucifixit, et infidelis erat, in potestate habuit dare corpus ejus cui vellet, et dedit hoc Joseph viro justo? In eadem patientia Dominus est etiam nunc, et tolerat malos sacerdotes, et sinit eos potestatem habere in Ecclesia, et distribuere corpus et sanguinem suum tam bonis quam malis:' et continuo ille subjecit dicens. 'Post illud tempus passionis suæ ipse non venit in manus eorum.' Et his verbis satis intellexi incredulitatem ejus, quam suspicatus fueram de eo, videlicet quod non credebat ab aliquo homine posse tractari, aut sumi in Ecclesia corpus et sanguinem Domini. Dixique ei cum indignatione: 'O Cathare nunc te manifeste convincam: et revolve epistolas Pauli, quas præsentem habebam, et demonstravi ei locum illum ubi ad Corinthios scri-

bens dicit: 'Quicumque manducaverit panem, vel biberit calicem Domini indigne, reus erit corporis et sanguinis Domini: probet autem seipsum, et sic de pane illo edat, et de calice bibat. Quicumque enim manducet et bibet indigne, iudicium sibi manducat et bibit, non dijudicans corpus Domini.' Hæc verba cum illi exposuissem, comprehendi eum sermone hoc: 'Si ita est,' inquam, 'ut dicas, videlicet quod ex eo tempore quo Iesus transiit ex hoc mundo, non venit corpus ejus in manus cujusque consequens est, quod ex illo tempore neque digne neque indigne potest aliquis manducare corpus ejus, aut sanguinem ejus potare: et si non testis ab aliquo sumi indigne, nemo potest in eo sumere sibi iudicium. Extra sermonem illum dixit Apostolus, quod qui indigne sumit corpus et sanguinem Domini, iudicium sibi manducat et bibit.' Hæc cum dixisset conticuit: et neque incredulitatem quam in eo redarguebam, negare neque veritati qua convictus erat, consensit..... Hoc tu, infelix Catharice facis, qui in occulto negas verum corpus Christi esse in altari: et omnes quæ a sacerdotibus nostris in ecclesia aguntur, in textrina tua irrideas nihilominus adveniente paschali die, cum populo ad ecclesiam prope barbam reverenter complanas, et multo humiliter cæteris genua tua altare incurvas, atque hiantius buccam aperis ad accipiendum sanctæ communionem, videlicet tuam æternam damnationem, quatenus vicariis hominibus bene Catholicus ac religiosus, et ut hi quos per pecuniâ conducitis ad tuendum vos dicere possint in defensione vestra. 'Quid requirimus ab hominibus istis? Boni et justi sunt; et omnia agunt que pertinent ad Christianos? utinam nos tales simus.' Ab uno viro de angulis vestris exierat, unam talem sapientiam vestram audivi. Corpus vestrum Domini est, et corpus Domini facitis quando panem benedicitis, atque ex eo corpus vestrum reficitis. Hunc sermonem dolose significatis, quando inquitur a vobis, utrum vere fidem habeatis corpore Domini, et respondetis inquirentibus, bonam vos de corpore Domini fidem habere..... Vir quidam nostri temporis qui infamatus est quod de Cathara vestra gustasset, cum interrogaretur in extremis suis, vellet dari sibi corpus Domini, dixisse memoratur: 'Si esset illud corpus Domini tantæ quantitatis, ut esset petra Erenberti, jamdudum esset consumptum, ex quo primum cœpit manducari.

SERMO XII. *Ædificium sine fundamento, opinor, construxi. Ipsi qui bene vos noscunt, Salvatoris humanitatem negare vos dicunt. Quod ita est, vane operam consumpsi disputamus vobiscum de corpore et sanguine Domini. Non est autem incredibile mihi, insani magistri insensisse discipulos. Nam princeps erroris vestri Manes, Salvatorem nostrum ita in humanitate apparuisse docebat, ut videretur quidem homo esse non esset vere homo: et quod nec vere natus fuisset de virgine, nec vere passus, neque vere mortuus, nec vere a morte suscitatus, &c.*

SERMO XIII. *De hæresi quam supra inter cæteras decimo loco dinavi, nescio an sit generalis hominibus sectæ hujus: quia in plerisque rebus dissident a seipsis, ita ut quod a quibusdam eorum asseritur, aliis negetur. De ea hæresi loquor, qua dicunt nihil aliud esse animas humanas, nisi illos apostatas spiritus qui in principio mundi ceciderunt in regno Dei, et hos posse in corporibus humanis promereri salutem:*



autem nisi inter eos qui sunt de secta eorum. Hoc autem non legitur inter errores Manichæi, sed alia non minor insania de animabus ibi invenitur, idcirco dubium mihi est, ut dixi, utrum hi homines hunc errorem generaliter teneant, an non." *Bib. Pat.* Tom. IV. P. II. 78.

No. XXV. p. 363.

*Historia Vizeliacensis Monasterii.*

"Eo tempore deprehensi sunt apud Vizeliacum quidam heretici, qui dicuntur Telonarii seu Poplicani, et adducti in quæstionem per ambages et circuitus verborum tentabant velare fœdissimam sectam hæresis suæ. Separatos itaque abbas jussit recludi, donec a supervenientibus episcopis honestisque personis convincerentur: fueruntque detenti fere per 60 vel eo amplius dies, et frequenter adducebantur in medium: et nunc minis, nunc blandimentis de fide Catholica inquirebantur. Tandem cum frustra multo tempore laboratum fuisset mediantibus Archiepiscopis, videlicet Lugdunensi et Narbonensi, cum Episcopo Nivernensi, et Abbatibus aliisque peritissimis viris quampluribus convicti sunt quod solam Divinitatis essentiam ore confitentes, omnia penitus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Sacramenta evacuarint—Baptismum, scilicet parvulorum, Eucharistiam, vivificæ Crucis impressionem, exorcizatæ aquæ aspersionem, Basilicarum ædificia, decimarum et oblationum remedia, conjugatorum connubia, monachorum instituta, Clericorum et Sacerdotum omnia officia. Et cum instaret Paschalis solemnitas, duo ex illis, audito quod proxime ignis exterminandi essent judicio, finxerunt se credere quod Catholica credit Ecclesia, et pro pace Ecclesiæ aquæ examine satisfacturos. In ipsa igitur processione Paschalis solemnitatis adducti sunt in medium maximæ multitudinis quæ totum claustrum occupabat, stante Guichardo Lugdunensi Episcopo, et Bernardo Nivernensium Episcopo, Magistro quoque Galterio Laudunensi Episcopo cum Guillelmo Vizeliacensi Abbate. Itaque requisiti de fide per singula capitula, sic se credere dixerunt sicut Catholica credit Ecclesia. Requisiti de execrabili sacramento erroris sui, nihil se scire dixerunt præter præscriptam infidelitatem Ecclesiasticorum Sacramentorum. Requisiti utrum ita se credere, uti professi sunt, et nihil de secreto erroris amplius se scire, aquæ examine probarent: ita se facturos sponte absque aliqua abjudicatione responderunt. Tunc omnis Ecclesia uno ore exclamavit, 'Deo gratias.' Et respondens Abbas dixit omnibus qui aderant: 'Quid ergo, Fratres, vobis videtur faciendum de his qui adhuc in sua perseverant obstinatione?' Responderunt omnes: 'Comburantur, comburantur.' Sequenti die adducti sunt illi duo qui videbantur revocati ad judicium examinis aquæ; quorum unus omnium judicio salvus per aquam factus est; fuerunt tamen nonnulli qui exinde dubium tulere sententiam. Alter porro remersus in aquam fere omnium ore damnatus est. Unde carceri mancipatus, quoniam varia quorundam etiam Sacerdotum ferebatur sententia, iterum ipso petente, ad aquæ judicium reductus per aquam demersus, nec vel parum ab aqua receptus est. Bis denique damnatus igni ab omnibus adjudicatus est: sed deferens Abbas præsentiae suæ, publice cæsum eliminari præcepit. Cæteri autem numero septem igni traditi exusti sunt in valle Esconii."

## No. XXVI. p. 365.

*Guilielmus Neubrigensis.*

“**ISDEM** diebus erronei quidam venerunt in Angliam, ex eorum creditur genere quos vulgo *Publicanos* vocant. Hi nimirum olim ex conia incerto auctore habentes originem, regionibus plurimis virus suae fidae infuderunt. Quippe in latissimis, Galliae, Hispaniae, Italiae, Germaniaeque provinciis tam multi hac peste infecti esse dicuntur, ut, secundum prophetam, multiplicati esse super numerum videantur. Denique cum praesulibus ecclesiarum, et principibus provinciarum in eos remissius, egrediuntur de caveis suis vulpes nequissimae, et praetenta specie tatis, seducendo simplices, vineam Domini Sabaoth tanto gravius, quam liberius demoluntur. Cum autem adversus eos igne Dei fidelium succenditur, in suis foveis delitescunt, minusque sunt noxii: sed tamen occultum spargendo virus nocere non desinunt. Homines rustici et otiosi, atque ideo ad rationem hebetes, peste vero illa semel hausta ita buti, ut ad omnem rigeant disciplinam, unde rarissime contingit aliquem, cum e suis latebris proditi extrahuntur, ad pietatem converti. Sane ah hac et ab aliis pestibus haereticis immunis semper exstitit Anglia, cum in aliis mundi partibus tot pullalaverint haereses. Et quidem insula, cum propter incolas Britones Britannia diceretur, Pelagius Oriente haeresiarcham futurum ex se misit, ejusque in se processu terribis, errorem admisit: ad cujus peremptionem Gallicanae ecclesiae pia visio semel et iterum beatissimum direxit Germanum. At ubi hanc insulam expulsis Britonibus natio possedit Anglorum, ut non jam Britania sed Anglia diceretur, nullius unquam ex ea pestis haereticae virus ebullit, sed nec in eam aliunde, usque ad tempora regis Henrici secundi tamquam propagandum et dilatandum introivit. Tunc quoque, Deo propitio, per quam jam irrepserat, ita est obviatum, ut de caetero hanc insulam ingredi non crederetur. Erant autem tam viri, quam feminae, paulo amplius quam triginta, dissimulato errore, quasi pacifice huc ingressi sunt, propagandae gratia, duce quodam Gerardo, in quem omnes tanquam praecipui ac principem respiciebant. Nam solus erat aliquantulum litteratus: ceteri vero sine litteris et idiotae, homines plane impoliti et rustici, nationis linguae Teutonicae. Aliquandiu in Anglia commorantes, unam tantum hirculam venenatis circumventam susurris, et quibusdam (ut dicitur) cinatam praestigiis suo coetui aggregaverunt. Non enim diu latere poterunt, sed quibusdam curiose indagantibus, quod peregrinae essent se deprehensi, comprehensi tentique sunt in custodia publica. Rex vero lenis eos indiscussos vel dimittere vel punire, episcopale praecipit Oxoniense concilium congregari. Ubi dum solemniter de religione conveniret eo, qui litteratus videbatur, suscipiente causam omnium, et loquente omnibus, Christianos se esse, et doctrinam apostolicam venerari respicerent. Interrogati per ordinem de sacrae fidei articulis: de substantia quidem superni medici recta, de ejus vero remediis, quibus humanae infirmitati mederi dignatur, id est, Divinis sacramentis, perversa dixerunt, eorum baptismum, eucharistiam, conjugium detestantes, atque unitati ecclesiae quam haec divina imbuunt subsidia, ausu nefario derogantes.



que sumptis de scriptura sacra divinis urgerentur testimoniis, se quidem ut instituti erant credere, de fide vero sua disputare nolle responderunt. Moniti, ut pœnitentiam agerent, et corpori ecclesiæ unirentur, omnem consilii salubritatem spreverunt. Minas quoque pie prætentas ut vel metu resipiscerent, deriserunt, verbo illo Dominico abutentes: 'Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam, quoniam ipsorum est regnum cœlorum.' Tunc episcopi, ne virus hæreticum latius serperet præcavescentes, eosdem publice pronuntiatos hæreticos corporali disciplinæ subdendos, catholico principi tradiderunt. Qui præcepit hæreticæ infamiæ characterem frontibus eorum inuri, et, spectante populo, virgis coercitos urbe expelli, districte prohibens ne quis eos vel hospitio recipere, vel aliquo solatio confovere præsumeret. Dicta sententia, ad pœnam justissimam ducebantur gaudentes, non lentis passibus: præeunte magistro eorum, et canente, 'Beati eritis cum vos oderint homines.' In tantum deceptis a se mentibus seductorius abutebatur spiritus. Illa quidem muliercula quam in Anglia seduxerant, metu supplicii discedens ab eis, errorem confessa, reconciliationem meruit. Porro detestandum illud collegium, cauteriatis frontibus justæ severitati subjacuit: eo, qui primatum gerebat in eis, ab insigne magisterii, inustionis geminæ, id est, in fronte, et circa mentum, dedecus sustinente. Scissisque, cingulo tenuis vestibus publice cæsi, et flagris resonantibus, urbe ejecti, algoris intolerantia (hiems quippe erat) nemine vel exiguum misericordiæ impendente, misere interierunt. Hujus severitatis pius rigor non solum a peste illa, quæ jam irrepserat, Angliæ regnum purgavit, verum etiam, ne ulterius irreperet, incusso hæreticis terrore præcavit." *Lib. II. c. xlii. Vol. I. p. 145. edit. Hearnii.*

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No. XXVII. p. 366.

*Johannes Brompton.*

"EODEM quoque tempore quidam hæretici Angliam ingressi sunt, in universo circiter XXX. homines et feminæ quasi linguæ Theutonicæ, quendam Gerardum nomine aliquantulum literatum tanquam præceptorem et principem imperiti ydiotæ sequentes. Rex vero ipsos in custodia deprehensos indiscussos vel impunitos dimittere nolens, præcepit Episcoporum concilium apud Oxoniam celebrari. Ubi de fidei articulis interrogati, ille literatus pro omnibus una voce respondit, se esse Christianos et doctrinam se velle apostolicam venerari. Sacrum vero baptismum, eucharistiam et conjugium detestantes, ausu nefario unanimiter respuerunt. Cumque divinis urgerentur testimoniis prædicta credere; se quidam ut instructi erant credere, de fide vero sua disputare nolle responderunt. Moniti ut pœnitentiam agerent et corpori ecclesiæ unirentur, omnem salubritatem consilii spreverunt. Minas quoque comminati deriserunt, verbo illo dominico abutentes, 'Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur,' &c. Tunc Episcopi ne virus hæreticum latius serperet præcavescentes, eosdem publice pronuntiatos hæreticos, corporali disciplinæ subdendos catholico Principi tradiderunt, qui præcepit hæreticæ infamiæ characterem frontibus eorum inuri, et spectante populo, virgis cœdi cohæreticos, ab urbe expelli; districte prohibens, ne quis eos hospitio recipere vel aliquo solatio præsumeret con-



fovere. Ad pœnam ergo ducti, gaudentes properabant, præeunte eorum magistro et canente, 'Beati eritis cum vos oderint homines,' &c. Unam tantum mulierculam Anglicam deceperant, et illa metu pœnæ ab eis discedens, errorem confessa est, et reconciliationem meruit salutarem." *Decem Scriptores*, col. 1050.

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No. XXVIII. p. 366.

*Radulphus de Diceto.*

"QUIDAM pravi dogmatis disseminatores tracti sunt in iudicium apud Oxeneford, præseunte rege, præsentibus et Episcopis. Quos a fide nostra devios, et in examine superatos facies cauteriata notabiles cunctis exposuit expulsos a regno. *Decem Scriptores*, col. 539.

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No. XXIX. p. 371.

*Radulphus Coggeshalensis.*

"QUOD audiens Magister Gervasius intellexit protinus hanc esse de illa impurissima secta Publicanorum, qui illo in tempore ubique exquirebantur et perimebantur, sed maxime a Philippo Comite Flandrensium, qui iusta crudelitate eos immisericorditer puniebat. Nonnulli vero eorum in Angliam advenerant, qui apud Oxenefordiam deprehensi, iubente Rege Henrico II. clave candenti in frontibus deformiter sunt signati, et effugati." p. 631.

"Asserunt isti parvulos non baptisandos, donec ad intelligibilem perveniant ætatem. Astruunt non orandum pro mortuis, nec Sanctorum suffragia expetenda: nuptias damnant, virginitatem prædicant in operimentum suæ turpitudinis: Lac, et quicquid ex eo conficitur, abhorrent, et omnem cibum, qui ex coitu procreatur. Non credunt ignem purgatorium restare post mortem: sed statim animam corpore solutam, ad requiem transire, vel ad damnationem. Nullas sacras scripturas recipiunt nisi Evangelia et Epistolas canonicas. Rusticani homines sunt: et ideo, nec rationibus convincuntur, nec auctoritatibus corriguntur, nec persuasionibus flectuntur: mori magis eligunt, quam ab impiissima secta converti. Aiunt et alii (qui de eorum secretis investigaverunt) quod isti non credunt Deum res humanas curare: nec aliquam dispositionem vel potentiam in terrenis creaturis exercere: sed apostatam angelum, quem et Lusabel nominant, universæ creaturæ corporali præsidere, et ad nutum ejus cuncta terrena disponi. Corpus a Diabolo dicunt formari. Animam vero a Deo creari et corporibus infundi. Unde fit ut semper quædam pertinax pugna inter corpus et animam geratur. Dicunt etiam nonnulli quod in subterraneis suis quædam nefanda sacrificia Lucifero suo temporibus agunt constitutis, et quædam sacrilegas turpitudines operantur." p. 633.

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No. XXX. p. 372.

*Bernardus Abbas Fontis Calidi.*

"SANCTÆ Romanæ Ecclesiæ præseidente Domino Lucio, inclitæ recordationis; subito extulerunt caput novi hæretici: Qui quodam præsagio

futurorum sortiti vocabulum, dicti sunt Valdenses; nimirum a *Valle densa*; eo quod profundis et densis errorum tenebris involvantur. Hi, quamvis a prefato summo Pontifice condemnati, virus suæ perfidiæ longe, lateque per orbem temerario ausu evomuerunt.

Ea propter contra eos pro Ecclesia Dei Dominus Bernardus Narbonensis Archiepiscopus, religione et Dei honestate insignis, Zelans legem Dei, se fortem murum opposuit. Accitis itaque pluribus tam Clericis, quam Laicis, religiosis ac sæcularibus, ad iudicium vocavit. Quid plura? Causa diligentissime investigata, condemnati sunt.

Nihilominus tamen postea, et clam et publice, semen suæ nequitiae spargere ausi sunt. Unde rursum, quamvis ex abundantia, ad disceptationem vocati sunt, per quosdam tam Clericos, quam Laicos: Et, ne lis diutius protraheretur, electus est ab utraque parte iudex, quidam sacerdos, Raimundus scilicet de Daventria. Vir siquidem religiosus, ac timens Deum, nobilis genere, sed conversatione nobilior.

Assignata igitur die causæ adveniente, congregatis invicem partibus, aliisque quam plurimis clericis et laicis, de quibusdam capitulis, in quibus male sentiebant, a veris Catholicis accusati sunt: eisque per singula respondentibus, hinc, inde, diu disputatum est, et ab utraque parte multæ productæ autoritates. Auditis igitur partium allegationibus; præfatus iudex, per scriptum, definitivam dedit sententiam, et hæreticos esse in capitulis, de quibus accusati fuerant, pronunciavit. Quibus autem auctoritatus, vel rationibus suam assertionem defenderent; quidve eis, a nobis Catholicis responsum sit; aut quibus scripturarum testimoniis fidem tueremur Catholicam, præsentem inteximus opusculo; adjectis etiam quibusdam aliis tractatibus contra alias hæreses. Hæc autem omnia fecimus maxime ad instruendos, vel commonendos quosdam clericos, qui, vel imperitia, vel librorum inopia laborantes, hostibus veritatis non resistendo, facti sunt in offensionem et scandalum fidelibus, quibus præsent.

Cap. I. Est contra hoc, quod dicunt, non esse obediendum summo Pontifici, aliisve Prælatibus. Cap. II. Tractat de dignitate Prælatorum, et quod eis sit deferendum et obediendum. Cap. III. Contra eos: qui detrahunt rectoribus animarum. Cap. IV. Contra hoc, quod omnes, etiam laici prædicant: Et, quid ad hoc dicant, quidve nos, contra eos. Cap. V. Quod non licet eis verbum Dei ministrare fidelibus. Et quoniam de laicis quæstio est; an verbum Dei seminare valeant in populis; distinguendum est: an sint Catholici, vel non; Nimirum, si sint Catholici, et honestas vitæ eos commendat; si sermo eorum sit sale sapientiæ conditus; et juxta capacitatem singulorum, verbi mensuram dispensare noverunt, certoque loco præfuerint, aut sub obedientia veri Catholici fuerint, secundum quantitatem profectus sui, in scientia, vel opere ad nutum Episcoporum, vel presbyterorum, in quorum territorio fuerint, proximos exhortari, ut arbitror: poterunt: si tamen uxoribus alligati non fuerint, nec eos pondus terrenæ sollicitudinis oppressit. Sane, si vita eorum reprehensibilis fuerit, eos audiri necesse non est. Quod enim Dominus ait: 'Quæ dicunt facite;' Non est dictum, nisi de his, qui sedent super cathedram Moysi, id est, de Magistris et Doctoribus divini legis quos Deus præfecit populo suo. Peccatori autem dixit Deus: 'quare tu enarras justitias meas, et assumis testamentum



meum per os tuum?' Cap. VI. Respondetur objectioni, qua dicunt cum Apostolo: Obedire oportet Deo, non hominibus; et de quibusdam aliis. Cap. VII. Declaratur, quos maxime seducant, quos non? Cap. VIII. Contra hoc, quod mulieres prædicare posse dicunt. Cap. IX. Contra hoc, quod dicunt defunctis fidelibus non prodesse vivorum eleemosynas, jejunia, missarum solemnia, aliasve orationes. Cap. X. Contra eos, qui negant ignem purgatorium, et aiunt, spiritus a carne solutos, continuo ire ad cælum vel infernum. Cap. XI. Contra eos, qui dicunt, eosdem spiritus defunctorum ante iudicium, nec cælum, nec infernum ingredi, sed aliis contineri receptaculis. Cap. XII. Contra eos, qui in Ecclesia orare nolunt, nec Ecclesiam esse nuncupandam asserunt: Ubi probatur, et Ecclesiam esse vocandam, et ibi esse orandum, et in magna veneratione habendam. Ubi etiam respondentur cuidam eorundem hæreticorum objectioni; qua ex verbis B. Stephani aiunt, quod Excelsus non habitat in manufactis, et ideo nec in Ecclesia. . . . . Bestiam namque, hoc est, Antichristum sequuntur, id est, imitantur; qui sicut in Apocalypsi dicitur: 'Aperuit os suum in blasphemias blasphemare nomen ejus, et tabernaculum ejus, et eos qui in cælo habitant.' Blasphemant tabernaculum Dei, dum dicunt, potius in cubiculis, vel stabulis, quam in domo Dei orandum. Blasphemant nomen Dei, dum dicunt, non creasse, aut regere mundum. Blasphemant eos, qui in cælo habitant dum dicunt, Apostolos, martires, civesque cæli nullam posse opem conferre supplicantibus fidelibus." *Bib. Pat. Tom. IV. 1195.*

#### No. XXXI. p. 378.

*Ermengardus.*

"SANCTI Spiritus adsit nobis Gratia. Incipit opusculum Ermengaudi; contra Hæreticos qui dicunt et credunt mundum istum, et omnia visibilia non esse a Deo facta, sed a Diabolo.

*Deum esse rerum omnium creatorem. Caput. I.*

Hæretici dicunt et credunt mundum istum, et omnia, quæ in eo videntur, videlicet, cælum quod videmus et solem et lunam et stellas, et terram, et omnia animalia, et homines, et ea, quæ in ea videntur, mare et pisces, et omnia, quæ in eo videntur, vel sunt, dicunt in absconditis suis, ab Omnipotenti Deo non esse facta, sed a Principe malignorum spirituum. Quibus hæreticis, et eorum isti malitioso errori plurimæ novi Testamenti auctoritates sunt contrariæ" . . . . . "Non esse duos Deos. *Caput. II.* Hoc quod hæretici dicunt, duos esse Deos, unum Omnipotentem, alium malignum, contra omnem divinam scripturam sentiunt" . . . . . "*Legem Moisaicam a vero Deo datam et latam. Caput. III.* Dicunt hæretici, Legem Moysi quam veterem dicimus, ab omnipotenti Deo non esse datam; sed a principe malignorum Spirituum. Cui errori plurimæ auctoritates divinarum scripturarum contradicunt" . . . . . "*Moysen non fuisse Magum. Caput. IV.* Item sunt quidam hæretici, qui Moysen Magum fuisse asserunt, et omnipotentem Deum non ei fuisse locutum, nec ei dedisse legem. Contra quem errorem, &c." . . . . . "*Matrimonium esse licitum. Cap. V.* Hæretici secundum Tatianum hæreticum, qui matrimonium damnabat omne: matrimonium maris et feminae ad invicem commiscentes, nullo modo



posse salvari dicunt et credunt"....."*Conceptionem et Nativitatem Joannis Baptistæ a bono angelo annunciatum esse. Caput. VI.* Item Joannem Baptistam non a bono Angelo, sed a dæmoniaco nunciatum fuisse. Nec bonum eum esse credunt"....."*De Christi Incarnatione, Nativitate, Passione, Morte, Resurrectione, et num vere manducaverit ac biberit. Caput. VII.* De Incarnatione Christi sunt quidam hæretici: inter istos Condomanam hæresin sequentes, qui dicunt, Christum non ex fœmina natum, nec habuisse verum carnem, nec vere mortuum: nec quidquam passum: sed simulasse passionem. Nec credunt eum manducasse: nec bibisse: et quasi phantasticum corpus habuisse: nec eum resurrexisse"....."*De Ecclesiis manufactis. Caput. VIII.*"....."*De Altaribus. Caput. IX.* Sed quoniam omnes hæretici Ecclesiam manu factam, et altaria, quæ in eis sunt, et sacramenta, quæ in eis a ministris Dei fiunt; et omnia ornamenta Ecclesiastica ad nihilum deputant, et ad salutem animarum nihil proficere dicunt, et despiciunt"....."*De Cantu ecclesiastico. Caput. X.* Item hæretici improbant Ecclesiæ cantum et laudes, quas Clerici de novo et veteri Testamento reddunt Deo Creatori suo"....."*De sacramento Corporis et sanguinis Christi. Caput. XI.* Sed hæretici dicunt. quod illud, *hoc*, demonstrativum pronomen, non refertur ad panem, quem in manibus tenebat, et cui benedicebat, et quam frangebat, et suis discipulis distribuebat: sed refertur ad corpus suum, quod hæc omnia perficiebat: Unde, eorum error, tam nequissimus originem habuit: ignorantes vim pronominis.....Sed sunt quidem hæretici, qui credunt, audiendo verbum Dei, se manducare carnem filii hominis, et ejus sanguinem bibere"....."*De Sacramento Baptismi. Caput. XII.* Dicunt enim quidam hæreticorum, quod hoc sacramentum Baptismi aquæ, sine eorum manus impositione recipienti, ad salutem perpetuam consequendam: nihil prodest adultis, nec etiam parvulis"....."*Dicunt etiam hæretici, quod nulli, nisi proprio ore, et corde hoc sacramentum petat, potest prodesse. Inde adducentes hunc errorem, quod parvulis Baptismus aquæ nihil prosit*"....."*Item dicis hæretice, quia peccator baptizari non potest: quomodo igitur baptizabant Apostoli*"....."*Item dicis: quia per ministerium sacerdotis non datur Spiritus Sanctus, quem te dare mentiris*"....."*De sacramento Pœnitentiæ. Caput. XIII.* Sed dicis; aliquem posse servari sine confessione; et objicis illam auctoritatem, qua dicitur: 'Quacunque hora peccator ingemuerit, salvus erit.' Ad quod dicendum est; quia vere invisibilis Sacerdos, scilicet Deus; eum, qui vult confiteri, sed non potest, solvit a delicto pœnæ æternæ, per cordis contritionem: sed, quandiu potest, nisi ore confiteatur, non absolvit."....."*De Impositione manuum. Caput. XIV.* Post tractatum Pœnitentiæ sequitur de manuum positione: quod *consolamentum* vocant: quam hæretici manuum impositionem, contra Dominica præcepta, et Apostolorum instituta agere invicem usurpant. Quomodo, et a quibus personis fiat, et quid de eo sentiant, primum est dicendum. Modus *consolamenti* talis est. Ille, qui dicitur Præpositus, vel Episcopus, vel Diaconus, nominatus est Rector aliorum hæreticorum sibi subjectorum. Et quando volunt facere *Consolamentum* alicui viro, vel mulieri: Ille, qui Major, et Ordinatus dicitur, ablutis manibus librum Evangeliorum in manibus suis tenens, eum vel eos,

qui ad recipiendum *consolamentum* conveniunt, admonet : ut in *consolamento* omnem suam fidem, et spem salutis animarum suarum in Deo in illo *consolamento* ponant. Et si super capita eorum libro posito, omnem Dominicam Septies dicunt, et deinde Beati Joannis Evangelium, a principio, incipientes, usque ad hunc locum Evangelii, quod dicit, 'Gloria et veritas per Jesum Christum facta est : ' audientibus, dicit ? Et sic fit illud *consolamentum*.

A quibus personis fit, dicamus. Scilicet, ab illis, qui inter eos *consolati* dicuntur. Si ipsi defuerint : ab illis, qui *consolati* dicuntur, sustinetur : et, si viri non adsint, mulieres tantum infirmis faciunt.

Quid de eo sentiant, dicamus : In illo enim generaliter omnes salutem suam et spem habent : et omnium remissionem suorum peccatorum et emundationem suorum delictorum, absque satisfactione aliqua, in Deo consequi credunt, si statim morte deficiunt. Et non solum veniam de veteribus peccatis quæ commiserunt, sed et de criminalibus perpetratis de eo sibi a Deo, credunt. Dicunt etiam, quod nemo magnus, vel parvus vir sive mulier, nisi illud *consolamentum* ab ipsis *consolatis* receperit, leste regnum, et Angelorum societatem, aliquo opere, vel beneficio, vel temptatione religionis, nec etiam martyrio, etsi ab omnibus, quod est insuperabile, peccatis et delictis se abstineat, consequi potest. Credunt etiam, quod si ille, qui facit illud *consolamentum*, in aliquo peccatorum, quæ *criminalia* vocant, lapsus fuerit ; sicut est comedere carnem, aut ovum caseum : vel interficere avem, vel aliquod animal, præter repentiā : vel am illa peccata, quæ Ecclesia Romana *criminalia* nominat, veluti homicidium, falsum testimonium, perjurium, rapinam, *consolamentum* illius impientibus nihil prodest. Dicunt enim, eum talem sic lapsum Spiritus Sanctum non habere : et quod non habet, credunt non posse alicui dari. Imo eundem credunt iterum oportere illud *consolamentum* recipere ab eis, si salvari desiderat : et hoc universaliter de omnibus, tam viris, quam mulieribus lapsis ita oportere fieri, ut dictum est"....." *De esu carnis et aliarum quarundam rerum. Caput. XV.* Omnium hæreticorum fides, quod nullus post suum *consolamentum* receptum, si carnem, vel ovum, vel ova comederit, possit salvari, nisi pœnitentiam receperit ab eis post et ab eis reconsoletur"....." *De Resurrectione mortuorum. Caput. XVI.* Postquam diximus de ciborum comestione, dicamus de mortuorum resurrectione. Hæretici namque Saducæorum errorem imitantes, corporum mortuorum (scu) hominum resurrectionem destruunt"....." sed hæretici obiciunt : quoniam caro et sanguis regnum Dei possidere non possunt"....." *De Invocatione Sanctorum, et precibus pro defunctis. Caput. XVII.* Contra quorundam hæreticorum perversam opinionem, qui asserunt sanctos, et eorum orationes vivis adhuc in mundo pro Christianis certantibus, non prodesse : nec defunctos vivorum beneficiis et orationibus relevari ; fidem nostram, et omnium Catholicorum Doctorum Ecclesiæ auctoritatibus muniamus..... Item sunt qui dicunt, neminem posse salvari, qui non pœniteat, nisi in articulo mortis, nec pro eo esse orandum. Sed audiat, quid dicat Dominus latroni, ad ultimum pœnitenti, et satietate non valenti : 'Hodie mecum eris in Paradiso.' Item : 'Quacumque hora peccator ingenuerit, salvus erit.' Sed dicis ; facere te posse, sal-



peccatorem sine pœnitentia et satisfactione. In quo notatur: quia divinae potentiae detrabere conaris: cum Dominus dicat in Propheta: 'Ego sum qui deleo iniquitates et peccata populi.' Sed peccatum hujus peccatoris, quem te salvare affirmas, non delet Deus: cum non pœniteat. Cave ergo, ne de cætero aliquid tam detestabile præsumas dicere."....."*De Juramento. Caput. XVIII.*"...."*De occisione hominis. Cap. XIX.*" *Bib. Pat. Tom. IV. 1235.*

### No. XXXII. p. 385.

*Ebrardus Bethuniensis.*

"*Quod lex reprobanda non sit; et in lege multi salvati sunt. Cap. I. Quod Prophetae et Patriarchae salvati meruerunt, et salvati sunt. Cap. II. Patriarchas etenim damnationi deputant (Waldenses et prophetas, et omnes etiam, qui ante passionem decesserunt, cum scriptum sit: 'Nolite tangere Christos meos, et in Prophetis meis nolite malignari.' Hoc enim ex Domino se habere contendunt, qui ait; 'Omnes, quotquot venerunt ante me, fures fuerunt, et latrones.' Male intelligunt illud, ante: quis enim ante eum, hoc est, prior eo venit? cum ipse ab initio, et prior omnibus sit; de quo dicitur, 'primogenitus ante omnem creaturam,' quæ ergo creatura est ante eum? Nulla utique. Legamus ergo melius, ut oportet, et dicamus; ante eum, hoc est, contra eum. Qui enim contra eum venit, non intrat per ostium in ovile ovium, et ideo fur, et latro. Α'ΥΤΙ autem Græcæ, contra dicitur Latine.....Quod illa qui dedit legem Moysi, sit verus Deus et omnipotens. Caput. III.....Quod domus lapidea vocari debeat Ecclesia: et de tonsura capillorum. Caput. IV.....Quod Deus omnipotens creavit omnia visibilia et invisibilia. Cap. V.....Quod pueri nondum loquentes baptizari debeant. Cap. VI.....Quod licitum si nubere, et a Deo datum. Cap. VII.....De Hostia sacrificii; quod sit ipsum corpus Dominicum. Cap. VIII.....Quod in carne nostra resurgemus, non in alia. Cap. IX.....Caput. X. Quod oblationes sacerdotibus debeant fieri, et in templo.....Caput XI. Quod unctio olei bona sit, et valens infirmis.....Caput. XII. Quod peregrinationes facere sit bonum, et a Deo datum.....Caput. XIII. Quod Joannes Baptista bene meruit, et salcatus est.....Caput. XIV. Quod licitum sit jurare, et jurando verum affirmare.....Caput. XV. Quod punire debeamus malefactores, et etiam occidere.....Quod fides operibus prævaleat, et fides primo quærenda sit. Caput. XVI.....Quod crux Dominica veneranda sit: et lignum crucis venerandum. Caput. XVII.....Caput. XVIII. Quod mulieres in muliebri sexu salvabuntur. Fæmineo etenim sexui cælorum beatitudinem nituntur surripere, et a tanto munere, suas ipsorum mulierculas non differunt viduare. Cujus erroris phantasiam corroborant ex eo quod dicitur: 'Venite benedicti patris mei.' Venite benedicti dixit, non benedictæ. Ex quo patet eorum imperitia. Conceptionem enim generum non considerant: masculinum enim genus dignius est, et concipit fæmininum. Quam conceptionem Lucas melius consideravit; cum de Zacharia et Elizabeth loquens ait: 'erant ambo justi ante Deum.' Sed fortius objiciunt illud quod legimus ad Ephes.*



‘Donec occurramus omnes in unitatem fidei, et agnitionis filii Dei, in virum perfectum in mensuram ætatis plenitudinis Christi.’ Ex hoc enim affirmant quod in specie viri perfecti et in ætate XXX. annorum ad iudicium veniamus, et mulieres suum permutent sexum.....*Quod varii sint Ordines et variae religiones salutis. Cap. XIX..... Quod gloriari non debent in jejuniis: et licitum sit carnes comedere. Cap. XX..... Quod vetitum sit illis, quidquid latenter faciunt. Caput. XXI..... Quod hæretici temporalia non omittunt, sed potius quarunt. Cap. XXII..... Probatio quod ipsi sint hæretici et nulli alii. Cap. XXIII..... Quod Scripturæ spiritualiter debeant intelligi non ad literam. Cap. XXIV..... Contra eos, qui dicuntur Xabatati. Cap. XXV..... De varietatibus hæreticorum et eorum sententiis. Caput. XXVI..... Disputatio contra Judæos. Caput. XXVII..... Quaestiones ad decipiendum (marg. capiendos) tam hæreticos, quam Judæos. Caput. XXVIII.* Qu. V. Dominus ad discipulos ait: ‘Ite, docete omnes gentes;’ alibi autem ait: ‘In viam *gentium* ne abieritis, et in civitatem Samaritanorum ne intraveritis.’ Si ad gentes non ierint, quomodo docebunt omnes gentes? Solutio. Docere monet in præeundo, et in doctrinis: sequi autem prohibet, adorando sculptilia.....Qu. LIII. Dominus ait: ‘Omnis *plantatio*, quam non *plantavit* pater meus cælestis eradicabitur.’ Ergo et illa, de qua ait Apostolus. ‘Ego *plantavi*, Apollo *rigavit*.’.....Qu. XXV. Dominus post resurrectionem ait, ‘hæc sunt verba, quæ locutus sum ad vos, cum adhuc essem *vobiscum*.’ Nunquid *cum eis* (non) erat, quando hoc dicebat?.....Qu. XLVII. Dominus ait, ‘Multa habeo de vobis loqui et *judicare*.’ Alibi autem dixit: ‘Ego non *judico* quenquam.’.....Qu. LV. Dominus ait: ‘Mea doctrina non est mea,’ de eodem dicit: *mea, et non mea*.....Qu. LXIV. Queritur de Rachel, si fleuit, quare consolari contempsit? si consolari contempsit, quare fleuit?’ *Bib. Pat. Tom. IV. 1078.*

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No. XXXIII. p. 391.

*Petrus Vallisarnensis.*

“PRIMO sciendum (inquit Vallisarnensis) quod hæretici duos constiuebant creatores, invisibilem scilicet, quem vocabant benignum Deum, et visibilem, quem malignum Deum nuncupabant. Novum testamentum benigno Deo, vetus vero maligno attribuebant, et illud omnino repudiabant, præter quasdam auctoritates, quæ de veteri testamento novo sunt insertæ, quas ob novi reverentiam testamenti recipere dignum æstimabant. Auctorem veteris testamenti mendacem asserebant, quia protoplastes dixit: Quacunque die comederitis de ligno scientiæ boni, et mali, morte moriemini; nec (sicut dicebant) post comestionem mortui sunt, cum tamen revera post gustum pomi vetiti mortis miseriæ fuerunt subjecti. Homicidamque ipsum nominabant, tum quia Sodomitæ et Gomorrhæos incineravit, et aquis diluvii mundum delevit, tum quia Pharaonem, et Aegyptios mari obruit. Omnes veteris testamenti patres damnatos affirmabant. Joannem Baptistam unum esse de majoribus dæmonibus asserebant. Dicebant etiam

in secreto suo, quod Christus ille, qui natus est in Bethlehem terrestri et visibili, et in Hierusalem crucifixus, malus fuit, et quod Maria Magdalena fuit ejus concubina, et ipsa fuit mulier in adulterio deprehensa, de qua legitur in Evangelio. Bonus enim Christus (sicut dicebant) nunquam comedit vel bibit, nec veram carnem assumpsit, nec unquam fuit in hoc mundo, nisi spiritualiter in corpore Pauli. Ideo autem diximus in Bethlehem terrestri et visibili, quia hæretici fingeant esse aliam terram novam, et invisibilem, et in illa terra secundum quasdam bonus Christus fuit natus, et crucifixus. Item dicebant hæretici bonum Deum duas habuisse uxores, Collant et Colibant, et ex ipsis filios et filias procreasse. Erant alii hæretici, qui dicebant, quod unus est creator, sed habuit filios Christum et diabolum. Dicebant et isti omnes creaturas bonas fuisse, sed per filias, de quibus legitur in apocalypsi, omnia fuisse corrupta, &c. .... Fere totam Romanam Ecclesiam speluncam latronum esse dicebant, et quia ipsa erat meretrix illa de qua legitur in apocalypsi. Sacramenta Ecclesiæ usque adeo annullabant, ut sacri baptismatis undam ab aqua fluviali non distare, sacrosancti coporis Christi hostiam a pane laico non differe publice dogmatizarent. Simplicium auribus hanc instillant blasphemiam, quod Christi corpus, etsi magnitudinem Alpium in se contineret jamdudum consumptum a comedentibus, et annihilatum fuisset: confirmationem, confessionem frivolas esse, et inanes omnino reputabant; sacrum matrimonium meretricium esse, nec aliquem in ipso salvari posse prædicabant, filios et filias generando. Resurrectionem quoque carnis diffidentes, quasdam adinventiones confingebant inauditas, dicentes animas nostras esse spiritus illos Angelicos, qui per superbiam apostasiam præcipitati de cælo corpora sua glorificata in aëre reliquerunt, et ipsas animas post successivam qualiumcunque corporum septem, et terraneorum inhabitationem, quasi tunc demum pœnitentia peracta ad illa relicta corpora remeare.

Sciendum autem, quod quidam inter hæreticos dicebantur perfecti, sive boni homines, alii credentes hæreticorum: qui dicebantur perfecti, nigrum habitum præferebant, castitatem se tenere mentiebantur, esum carniū, ovorum, casei omnino detestabantur, non mentientes videri volebant, cum ipsi maxime de Deo quasi continue mentirentur; dicebant etiam quod nulla unquam ratione debeant jurare. Credentes autem hæreticorum dicebantur illi, qui seculariter viventes, licet ad vitam perfectorum imitandam non pertingerent, in fide tamen illorum se salvari sperabant, divisi siquidem erant in vivendi modo, sed in fide et infidelitate uniti erant. Qui dicebantur credentes hæreticorum, dediti erant usuris, rapinis, homicidiis, et carnis illecebris, perjuriis et perversitatibus universis. Isti siquidem ideo securius et effrænatus peccabant, quia credebant sine restitutione ablatorum, sine confessione et pœnitentia se esse salvandos, dummodo in supremo mortis articulo Pater noster dicere, et manuum impositionem recipere a magistris suis potuissent. De perfectis vero hæreticis, magistratus habebant, quos vocabant diaconos et episcopos, sine quorum manuum impositione nullus inter credentes moriturus se salvari posse credebant. Verum si morienti cuilibet quantumcunque flagitioso manus imposuissent, dummodo Pater noster dicere posset, ita salvatum æstimabant, ut



absque omni satisfactione, absque omni alio remedio statim evolaret ad cælum, &c.

Non credimus autem silendum, quod et quidam hæretici dicebant, quod nullus poterat peccare ab umbilico et inferius. Imagines quæ sunt in ecclesiis dicebant idololatriam, campanas earum tubas dæmonum affirmabant. Item dicebant, quod non peccabat quis gravius dormiendo cum matre, vel sorore sua, quam cum qualibet alia. Illud et inter supremas fatuitates dicebant, quod si quis de perfectis peccaret mortaliter, comedendo videlicet modicissimum carniæ, vel casei, seu ovi, vel alicujus rei sibi inhibita, omnes consolati ab illo amittebant Spiritum Sanctum, et oportebat eum iterum reconcolari: et etiam salvati pro peccato consolatoris cadebant de cælo.

Erant præterea alii hæretici, qui *Waldenses* dicebantur, a quodam *Waldio* nomine Lugdunensi. Hi quidem mali erant, sed comparatione aliorum hæreticorum longe minus perversi: in multis enim nobiscum conveniebant, in aliquibus dissentiebant: ut autem plurima de infidelitatibus eorum omittamus: in quatuor præcipue condistebat error eorum, in portandis scilicet sandaliis more Apostolorum, et in eo quod dicebant nulla ratione jurandum vel occidendum. In hoc insuper quod asserebant, quemlibet eorum in necessitate, dummodo haberet sandalia, absque ordinibus ab episcopo acceptis posse conficere corpus Christi. Hæc nos de sectis hæreticorum breviter excerpisse sufficiat. Quando aliquis se reddit hæreticis, ille dicit, qui recipit eum: 'Amice si vis esse de nostris, oportet, ut renuncies toti fidei, quam tenet Romana Ecclesia,' respondet, 'abrenuncio.' 'Ergo accipe Spiritum sanctum a bonis hominibus,' et tunc spirat ei septies in ore. Item dicit illi: 'Abrenuncias cruci illi, quam tibi fecit sacerdos in baptismo, in pectore, et in scapulis, et in capite de oleo et chrismate?' Respondet, 'abrenuncio.' 'Credis quod aqua illa operetur tibi salutem?' respondit, 'non credo.' 'Abrenuncias velo illi, quod tibi baptizato sacerdos posuit in capite?' respondet, 'abrenuncio.' Ita accipit ille baptismum hæreticorum et abnegat baptismum Ecclesiæ. Tunc ponunt omnes manus super caput ejus et osculantur eum, et induunt eum veste nigra, et ex illa hora est quasi unus ex ipsis, &c. *Raynaldi Annal. an. 1204. No. 59. Tom. I. p. 130.*

#### No. XXXIV. p. 397.

##### *Anonymus.*

"*EXORTÆ* sunt duæ religiones in ecclesia, cujus ut aquilæ renovatur juvenus, quæ etiam a sede apostolica sunt confirmatæ, videlicet Minorum fratrum, et Prædicatorum. Quæ forte hac occasione sunt approbatæ, quia olim duæ sectæ in Italia exortæ adhuc perdurant, quorum alii Humiliatos, alii Pauperes de Lugduno se nominabant: quos Lucius Papa quondam inter hæreticos scribebat, eo quod superstiosa dogmata et observationes in eis reperirentur. In occultis quoque prædicationibus, quas faciebant plebæ in latibulis, ecclesia Dei, et sacerdotio derogabant. Vidimus tunc temporis aliquos de numero eorum, qui dicebantur Pauperes de Lugduno, apud sedem apostolicam cum magistro suo quodam, ut puto, Bernhardo:



et hi petebant sectam suam a sede apostolica confirmari, et privilegiari. Sane ipsi dicentes se gerere vitam apostolorum, nihil volentes possidere, aut certum locum habere, circuibant per vicos et castella. Ast dominus papa quadam superstitiosa in conversatione ipsorum eisdem objecit: videlicet quod calceos desuper pedem præcidebant, et quasi nudis pedibus ambulabant. Præterea cum portarent quasdam cappas, quasi religionis, capillos capitis non attondebant, nisi sicut laici. Hoc quoque probrosum in eis videbatur, quod viri et mulieres simul ambulabant in via, et plerumque simul manebant in una domo, ut de eis dicitur, quod quandoque simul in lectulis accubabant. Quæ tamen omnia ipsi asserebant ab apostolis decedisse. Cæterum dominus papa in loco illorum exurgentes quosdam alios, qui se appellabant pauperes Minores, confirmavit: qui prædicta superstitione et probrosa respuebant, sed præcise nudis pedibus tam æstate quam hyeme ambulabant, et neque pecuniam, nec quidquam aliud præter victum accipiebant, etsi aliquando vestem necessariam quisquam ipsis sponte conferebat, non enim quidquam patebant ab aliquo. Hi tamen postea attendentes, quod nonnunquam nimie humilitatis nomen gloriationem importeret, et de nomine paupertatis, cum multi eam frustra sustineant, apud Deum vanius inde gloriantur, maluerunt appellari Minores fratres, quam Minores pauperes, apostolicæ sedi in omnibus obedientes. Alii, videlicet Prædicatores, in locum Humiliatorum successisse creduntur. Humiliati quippe, nulla habita auctoritate aut licentia prælatorum, mittentes falcem in messem alienam, populis prædicabant, et vitam eorum plerumque regere satagebant, et confessiones audire, et ministeriis sacerdotum derogare. Quæ volens corrigere papa, ordinem prædicatorum instituit et confirmavit. Illi quippe rudes et illiterati cum essent, operibus manuum instabant, et prædicabant, accipientes necessaria a suis credentibus: isti vero studio et lectioni sacræ scripturæ jugiter insistentes, tantum in scribendo libros opus faciebant: et eos diligentissime a magistris suis audiebant ut cum sagittis et arcu omni armatura fortium possent ingredi, et stare pro defensione sanctæ matris ecclesiæ, et ex adverso ascendere, et ponere se murum pro domo Israël. Dum fidem roborant, virtutes instruunt, statutæ ecclesiæ docent et collandant, vitia hominum et pravitates redarguant et castigant: nihilo minus sedi apostolicæ in omnibus obediunt, a qua auctoritatem præcipuam trahunt." *Conc. X. 1533.*

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No. XXXV. p. 400.

*Reinerius Saccho.*

DE CAUSIS HÆRESEON. CAP. III.

"ET tertio nota quod sex sunt causæ hæresis. *Prima* est inanis gloria; quia enim vident doctores in Ecclesia honorari, ideo etiam appetunt per doctrinam honorari. *Secunda* est, quia omnes, scilicet viri et feminae parvi et magni, nocte, et die, non cessant discere. Operarius enim in die laborans, in nocte discit vel docet: et ideo parum orant propter studium: docent et discunt sine libris: docent etiam et discunt in domibus leprosum. Item pro introductionibus, docent vitare septem mortalia, et

tria, scilicet mendacium, et detractionem, et juramentum. Hæc n autoritatibus probant, et vocant ea decem præcepta. Item disci septem dierum, quærit alium, quem doceat, ut cortina cortinam tra Qui vero excusant se, quod non possint discere, dicunt eis; discere qu tantum unum verbum, et post annum scies trecenta, et proficies. V est, quod dico. Quidam hæreticus, ad hoc tantum, ut quendam nostra averteret, et ad suam converteret, nocte, tempore non hyemali, aquam, quæ ipsa dicitur, ad ipsum natavit. In hoc reprehendi p negligentia fidelium doctorum, qui non sic zelant Catholicæ fidei verita sicut perfidi Leonistæ zelant infidelitatis errorum. Tertia causa hæ est, quia novum et vetus testamentum vulgariter transtulerunt; e docent et discunt. Audivi, et vidi quendam rusticam idiotam, qui recitavit de verbo ad verbum; plures, qui totum novum testamea perfecte sciverunt. Et quia sunt laici idiotæ, false et corrupte scriptu exponunt, ut est illud Joan. I. 'In propria venit et sui eum non receper Ibi dicunt *sui*, id est, *porci*, dicentes *sui* pro *sues*. Et illud Psalmi; crepa feras harundinis,' *straße die Thier der Schwalben*, dicentes, *h dinis*, pro *harundinis*. Psalmis etiam titulos imponunt; sic 'Eracta d' Maid Psalmi: 'Exurgat,' *der Rach*, Psal. 'De profundis; *der re Ps* &c. sic de cæteris. In locis et horis et occultis docent et discunt, aliquem admittunt, qui non sit credens eorum. Quando simul conven tunc primo dicunt; 'Cavete, ne inter nos sit lignum curvum,' id est quis extraneus. Suam etiam doctrinam præcipiunt occultari a cle Sicut quidam loquuntur per signa, quæ nemo intelligit, nisi ipsi: hæc verba transformant, quod nemo intelligit præter eos. Ecclesiam vo *Steinhausz*, altare, *Steinhauff* Clericos, *Scribas*; religiosos, *Pharisæos* sic de multis aliis. Directe nunquam respondent. Quarta causa h sum est scandalum de malo exemplo quorundam. Unde, cum quos vident male vivere, dicunt: 'Sic Apostoli non vixerant, nec nos, qui mus imitatores Apostolorum.' Quinta causa est, insufficientia doct quorundam qui prædicant quandoque frivola, quandoque falsa. U quidquid Ecclesiæ Doctor docet, quod per textum novi Testamenti probat, hoc totum pro fabulis habent contra Ecclesiam. Sexta caus irreverentia, quam quidam ministri Ecclesiæ perhibent, Sacramento Septima causa est odium, quod habent contra Ecclesiam. Audivi al hæreticorum intendebant Clericos redigere, Claustrales, ad statum f rum, per ablationem decimarum et possessionum, et per potentiam multitudinem credentium ipsorum et fautorum. Cum quidam hæ archa nomine Hainricus Chirothecarius in Xero in duceretur ad mor dixit coram omnibus; 'Merito nos damnatis; quia, si status noster esset minoratus, potestatem quam exercetis contra nos, nos modo exercuissemus contra vos, omnes scilicet Clericos, religiosos et Laicos, omnibus vero civitatibus Lombardiæ et in Provincia, et in aliis regi terris plures erant Scholæ hæreticorum quam theologorum, et p auditores, qui publice disputabant, et populum ad solennes disputat convocabant, in foro et in campis prædicabant, et in tectis, et non qui eos impedire auderet, propter potentiam et multitudinem fauto ipsorum. Inquisitioni et examinationi hæreticorum frequenter inter



et computatæ sunt scholæ hæreticorum, in diocesi Pataviensi XLI. In loco qui dicitur Clemmaten fuerunt X. Scholæ et ejusdem Ecclesiæ plebanus ab hæreticis est occisus: et de hoc nullum judicium est secutum. Sunt autem istæ Ecclesiæ, quas hæretici habent; Zengevelde, et ibi Scholæ; Item in Strouizingen, et ibi Scholæ: Item, in Zevuhs: Item, in Drossendorff. Item ad S. Osuualdum: Item, Emzempach, et ibi scholæ et Episcopus: Item, ad S. Christophorum: Item, Pebaimfirchen: Item, in ibsia: Item, ad S. Georgium; Item ad Dansteten: Item, in Brachlaten: Item, in Mevustato: Item, in Ardach: Item, in Sitensteten: Item ad S. Petrum in Auu, et ibi Scholæ: Item, in Aszpach: Item, in Bolzpach: Item, in Mitra: Item, in Hage: Item, in Spunelburch: Item ad S. Valentinum; Item in Herdischhofen: Item, in Stehra et ibi Scholæ: Item ad S. Florianum: Item, in Malszued: Item, in Sirnich, et ibi Scholæ: Item, Bezsensfirchen: Item, in Chemmenaten, et ibi Scholæ plures; plebanus occisus est ab eis: Item, in Neuunhofen, et ibidem Scholæ leprosorum: Item, in Melsza: Item, in Ernuans: Item, in Gimnecrochen: Item ad S. Mariam: Item, in Puppingen: Item, in Griefzfirchen: Item, in Marden: Item in Anaso, et ibi Scholæ: Item, in Buchfirchen: Item in Acfergeun in Chamer, et ibi Scholæ: Item, Ninachleub.

#### DE SECTIS ANTIQUORUM HÆRETICORUM. CAP. IV.

De quarto nota, quod sectæ hæreticorum fuerunt plures, quam LXX. quæ omnes, per Dei gratiam deletæ sunt, præter sectas Manichæorum, Arianorum, Runcariorum, et Leonistarum, quæ Alemaniam infeceerunt. Inter omnes has sectas, quæ adhuc sunt, vel fuerint non est perniciosior Ecclesiæ, quam Leonistarum. Et hoc tribus de causis. Prima est, quia est diuturnior. Aliqui enim dicunt, quod duraverit a tempore Sylvestri; aliqui, a tempore Apostolorum. Secunda quia est generalior. Fere enim nulla est terra, in qua hæc secta non sit. Tertia, quia cum omnes aliæ sectæ immanitate blasphemiarum in Deum, audientibus horrorem inducant; hæc scilicet Leonistarum, magnam habet speciem pietatis: eo quod coram hominibus juste vivant, et bene omnia de Deo credant, et omnes articulos, qui in Symbolo continentur; solummodo Romanam Ecclesiam blasphemant, et clerum; cui multitudo Laicorum facilis est ad credendum. Et sicut in judicio libro legitur; quod vulpes Sampsonis facies diversas habebant, sed caudas sibi invicem colligatas: sic hæretici, in sectis sunt divisi in se, sed in impugnatione Ecclesiæ, sunt uniti. Quando in una domo sunt hæretici, tum sectarum quælibet, quarum quælibet damnat alteram, simul Romanam Ecclesiam impugnat: Et sic subdolæ vulpeculæ, vineam Domini, id est, Ecclesiam erroribus demoliuntur.

#### DE SECTIS MODERNORUM HÆRETICORUM. CAP. V.

Nota, quod secta Pauperum de Lugduno, qui etiam Leonistæ dicuntur, tali modo orta est. Cum cives majores pariter essent in Lugduno, contingit quendam ex eis mori subito coram eis. Unde quidam inter eos tantum fuit tertius, quod statim magnum thesaurum pauperibus erogavit: Et ex hoc maxima multitudo pauperum ad eum confluit, quos ipse docuit habere voluntariam paupertatem, et esse imitatores Christi et Apostolorum. Cum autem esset aliquantulum literatus, novi testamenti textum



docuit eos vulgariter, pro qua temeritate cum fuisset reprehensus tempus, et cœpit insistere doctrinæ suæ dicens discipulis suis; quorū quando malæ vitæ esset, invideret sanctæ vitæ ipsorum, et docuit. Cum autem Papa excommunicationis sententias tulisset in eos, pertius contempserunt, et sic usque hodie in omnibus terminis illis proficit et in ipsorum et rancor. Nota tria: Primo, de blasphemis, quibus blasphe- mant Romanam Ecclesiam, et statuta ipsius, et omnem Clerum. In- da parte tanguntur errores circa Ecclesiastica Sacramenta et sancto- tercia parte nota detestationes, quibus omnes honestas et approbata- suetudines Ecclesiæ detestantur. Primo dicunt quod Romana Ec- clesia non sit Ecclesia Jesu Christi, sed sit Ecclesia malignantium: et quod- cerit sub Sylvestro, quando venenum temporalium infusum est in Eccl- Et dicunt quod ipsi sint Ecclesia Christi: quia Christi doctrinam, Evi- et Apostolorum verbis et exemplis observent. Secundus error est, omnia vitia et peccata in Ecclesia sint: quod ipsi soli juste vivant. T- est, quod doctrinam Evangelicam pæne nullus servet in Ecclesia, eos. Quartus, quod ipsi sint vere pauperes spiritu, et persecutionem p- tur propter iustitiam et fidem. Quintus, quod ipsi sint Ecclesia Jesu- ti. Sextus, quod Romana Ecclesia sit meretrix in Apocalypsi propt- perfluum ornatum, quem Ecclesia Orientalis non curat. Septimus, omnia statuta Ecclesiæ contemnunt: quia sint gravia, et plurima. vus quod Papa sit caput omnium errorum. Nonus, quod Prælati Scribæ; et religiosi, Pharisei. Decimus, quod Papa et omnes Ep- sint homicidæ propter bella. Undecimus, quod non sit obediendum- latis, sed tantum Deo. Duodecimus, quod nemo sit major altero in- sia: Matt. 23 'Omnes vos fratres estis.' Decimus tertius, quod nemo- flectere genua sacerdoti. Apoc. 2. Ubi dicit Angelus Joanni; 'vide, ceria.' Decimus quartus, quod decimæ non sint dandæ, quia primiti- clesiæ non dubantur. Decimus quintus, quod Clerici possessiones n- beant habere: Deut. 18. 'Non habeant Sacerdotes, et omnes, qui de- Levi sunt, partem et hereditatem cum populo Israel quia sacrificia- dunt, et nihil aliud accipiens.' Decimus sextus, quod Clerici et Cla- les non debeant præbendas habere. Decimus septimus, quod Episc- abbates non debeant iura regalia habere. Decimus octavus, quod t- populus non sit per partes dividendus. Decimus nonus, quod mali- fundare, et dotare Ecclesias et Claustra. Vigessimus, quod Testamen- sint Ecclesiis ordinanda. Item, quod nulli debeat fieri Ecclesiæ cen- Item, omnem Clerum damnant propter otium, dicentes; eos manibus- re operari, sicut Apostoli fecerunt. Item, nomina prælationum repr- sicut Papæ, Episcopi, &c. Item, quod nullus sit cogendus ad fidem, quod omnia officia Ecclesiastica, nulla reputant. Item, privilegia Ec- tica non curant. Item, immunitatem Ecclesiæ, et personarum, et- Ecclesiasticarum spernunt. Item, Concilia, Synodos, et conveni- nunt. Item dicunt, quod omnia iura parochialia sint ad inventiones, dicunt, quod observantiæ per homines religiosos factæ, sint trad- Phariseorum. Secundo, omnia Sacramenta Ecclesiæ damnant pri- Baptismo dicunt quod Catechismus nihil sit. Item, quod ablutio, q- tur infantibus nihil prosit. Item, quod patrini non intelligant, q-

spondeant sacerdoti. Item, quod oblatio illa, quæ dicitur annuegun, sit ad inventio. Item, omnes exorcismos, et benedictiones Baptismi reprobant. Item, Sacramentum Confirmationis reprobant. Mirantur etiam, quare soli Episcopis liceat confirmare. Item, de Sacramento Eucharistiæ dicunt; quod Sacerdotes in mortali non possint conficere. Item, dicunt quod transsubstantio non fiat in manu indigne conficientis, sed in ore digne sumentis: et confici posse in mensa communi Malachias: 'In omni loco offertur nomini meo oblatio munda.' Item quod semel in anno fideles communicant, hoc reprobant, quia ipsi quotidie communicant. Item, dicunt quod transsubstantio fiat per verba vulgaria. Item dicunt, quod missa nihil sit, quia Apostoli eam non habebant; et, fiat propter quæstum. Item, canonem missæ non recipiunt, nisi tantum verba Christi vulgariter. Item cantum Ecclesiæ dicunt clamorem infernalem. Item, horas canonicas reprobant. Item, dicunt quod oblatio, quæ sit sacerdotibus in missa nihil sit, neque proficiat. Item osculum pacis et altaris reprobant. De Sacramento Pœnitentiæ dicunt, quod nullus possit absolvi a malo sacerdote. Item, quod bonus Laicus potestatem habeat absolvendi. Item, quod ipsi per manus impositionem peccata dimittant, et dent Spiritum Sanctum. Item quod confitendum sit potius bono Laico, quam malo sacerdoti. Item quod non gravis Pœnitentia sit imponenda, exemplo Christi; 'Vade, et tam amplius noli peccare.' Item, publicas pœnitentias, ut catenas, reprobant, maxime in fœminis. Item, quod generalis confessio non sit singulis annis facienda. Item Sacramentum conjugii damnant, dicentes, mortaliter peccare conjuges, si absque spe prolis conveniant. Item, compaternitatem nihil reputant. Item, gradus affinitatis et consanguinitatis carnalis et spiritalis, quos Ecclesia instituit: et impedimenta Ordinis, et publicæ honestatis, et Ecclesia vetitum spernunt. Item dicunt, quod fœmina post partum non egeat benedictione et introductione. Item dicunt, quod Ecclesia erraverit, dicunt, matrimonium Clericis prohibendo, cum etiam Orientales contrahunt. Item dicunt, quod continentes non peccent per oscula et complexus. Sacramentum unctionis etiam reprobant, quia, tantum divitibus datur; et propter plures Sacerdotes ibi necessarios. Item, Sacramentum Ordinis dicunt nihil esse. Item dicunt, quod omnis Laicus bonus, sit Sacerdos, sicut Apostoli Laici erant. Item, quod ratio mali sacerdotis nihil proficit. Item, tonsuram Clericalem derident. Item, quod Latina oratio Laicis non prosit. Item subsannat; quod illegitimi, et pravi peccatores in Ecclesia sublimantur. Item dicunt, quod omnis Laicus, et etiam fœmina debeat prædicare. I. Corint. 14 'Volo vos loqui in linguis, ut Ecclesia ædificationem accipiat.' Item, quidquid prædicatur, quod per textum Bibliæ non probatur, pro fabulis habent. Item dicunt; quod sacra Scriptura eundem effectum habeat in vulgari, quem in Latino. Unde etiam conficiunt in vulgari, et dant Sacramenta. Item, Testamenti novi textum, et magnam partem veteris vulgariter sciunt corde. Item Decretales et Decreta, et dicta et expositiones sanctorum respuunt, et tantum inhærent textui. Item excommunicationem contemnunt, et absolutionem non curant. Item, indulgentias Ecclesiæ respuunt, et dispensationes derident; irregularitatem non credunt. Item, nullum sanctum credunt, nisi Apostolos: nullum sanctum credunt, nisi Deum solum. Item canonizationes, translationes, et vigiliis sanctorum

contemnunt. Item Laicos, qui sorte sanctos eligunt in altari, derident, Item lætaniam nunquam legunt; legendas sanctorum subsannant. Item, reliquias sanctorum contemnunt. Item, sanctum crucem reputant ut simplex lignum. Item, signum sanctæ crucis horrent, propter supplicium Christi; nec unquam signant se. Item dicunt, quod doctrina Christi et Apostolorum sine statutis Ecclesiæ, sufficiat ad salutem. Quod traditio Ecclesiæ, sit traditio Phariseorum; et quod major vis sit in transgressione traditionis humanæ, quam legis divinæ, Matt. 15. 'Quare vos transgredimini mandata Dei propter traditiones vestras.' Item mysticum sensum in divinis Scripturis refutant: præcipue in dictis et actis ab Ecclesia traditis: ut quod gallus super campanile significat Doctorem. De tertia parte nota, quod circa consuetudines Ecclesiæ hos habent errores. Omnes igitur consuetudines Ecclesia approbatas, quas in Evangelio non legunt, contemnunt: sicut festum luminum, Palmarum, reconciliationem pœnitentium, adorationem crucis in Parasceue, festum paschæ, Christi et sanctorum festa spernunt, propter multiplicationem festorum; et dicunt quod unus dies sit sicut alius. Unde in festis occulte operantur. Item, jejunia ecclesiæ non curant. Esaïæ 58. 'Nunquid tale est jejunium quod elegi?' Item omnes dedicationes, benedictiones, et consecrationes candelarum, carminum, palmarum, chrismatis, ignis, cerei, Agni Paschalis, mulieris post partum, peregrinorum, sacrorum locorum, sacrarum personarum, vestium, salis et aquæ. Derident Ecclesiam muratam, reputant ut horreum, et appellant eam vulgariter, *Stainhauf*; nec Deum ibi habitare dicunt. Act. 17. 'Non in templis manufactis habitat Deus.' Et quod orationes non plus ibi valeant, quam in cubiculo. Matt. 6. 'Tu autem cum oraveris, intra in cubiculum,' &c. Item, de dedicatione Ecclesiæ, vel altaris nihil curant. Item, ornatum Ecclesiæ dicunt esse peccatum: et quod melius esset vestire pauperes, quam ornare parietes. Item de altari dicunt, quod damnum sit, pannum putrescere super lapide. Et quod Christus non dederit Apostolis stolas, nec casulam, nec infulam. Item conficiant in Picario, pro calice. Et dicunt quod corporale sit, ut pannus braccorum. Item, de lumine dicunt; quod Deus, qui est vera lux, non egeat lumine. et ad hoc tantum valere in Ecclesiis, ne Clerici ibi pedes ledant. Item, thurificationem reprobant. Aquam benedictam dicunt esse ut simplicem. Imagines et picturas dicunt esse idololatricas. Item, Ecclesiæ cantum subsannant, et dicunt quod in verbis tantum, et non in melodia sit vis. Item clamores Laicorum derident. Item, processiones festivas, ut Paschæ, et lugubres, ut dies Rogationum et funerum respuunt. Dicunt, et quod cantus nocturnus et diurnus noviter a Gregorio sit institutus; quem prius Ecclesia non habebant. Item, quod Sacerdos plures missas diversas, uno die cantate permittitur: reprehendunt. Idem, tempore interdicti exultant; quia, tunc plures corrumpunt. Item dicunt, quod homines cogantur ire ad Ecclesiam propter quæstum; ipsi etiam fecte vadunt, offerunt, confitentur, communicant, sed totum fecte. Item peregrinantur, et ita Lombardiam intrantes, visitant Episcopos suos. Item sepulchrum Domini, et sepulchra sanctorum contemnunt. Item, Ecclesiasticum sepulturam reprobant. Matt. 23. 'Væ, qui ædificatis sepulchra.' Vellent etiam potius sepeliri in campo, quam in cœmeterio si non timerent Ecclesiam. Item dicunt, quod exequiæ mor-



tuorum, Missæ defunctorum, oblationes funerum, testamenta, legata, visitatio sepulchrorum, vigiliæ lectæ, anniversarius, tricesimus, septimus, &c. suffragia, non prosint animabus. Item, de confraternitate Laicorum et Clericorum, quæ vocatur *zeche*, dissuadent, et dicunt hæc omnia agi propter quæstum. Hos omnes errores habent; quia negant Purgatorium: dicentes tantum duas vias esse, scilicet unam electorum ad cælum; aliam damnatorum, ad infernum 'Lignum quocunque ceciderit, ibi erit.' Si enim est bonus non indiget suffragio: si est malus, nihil prodest. Item dicunt, quod omne peccatum, sit mortale et nullum veniale. Item dicunt, quod unum Pater noster plus valeat, quam sonus decem campanarum, et plus, quam Missa. Item dicunt; quod omne juramentum sit mortale peccatum. 'Nolito jurare omnino: sed sit sermo vester, est, est, non, non.' Qui dicit, vere, vel certe, reputat juramentum. Perfecti enim inter eos, potius moriuntur, quam jurent. Imperfectus vero jurat si cogitur jurare: vel etiam, si dicatur sibi forma juramenti; per hoc se a peccato excusans, necogatur, et sic coactus prodat secreta. Imo, plus, quam homicidam reputant, qui cogit jurare: ut Confirmator; quia confirmando exigit juramentum et Judex a testibus, et examinatur in fide; et Sacerdos, qui cogit abjurare peccata. Unde multi sunt perjuri. Item, reprehendunt eum, qui dicit, quod violans fidem, quam dedit Sacerdoti, sit reus septem perjuriarum. Item dicunt; quod omnes Principes et Judices dantur; et dicunt, maleficos non damnandos, juxta illud; 'Mibi vindictam et ego retribuam.' 'Sinite utraque crescere.' Item, judicio Ecclesiastico, quæ habent sacerdotes fieri dicunt non correctionis causa, sed propter quæstum.

## CAPUT. VI.

Item, si perfecte vis cognoscere errorem Patrinorum, respice summam Fratris Tonsouis. Cum talibus parum potest fieri, nisi per testes; quia imperfecti jurant et mentiuntur. Sed Perfecti qui Consolati vocantur in Lombardia, et in Theutonia, boni homines vocantur; subirent mortem, antequam quidquam facerent horum.

[The "Summa Fratris Renerii" mentioned before, p. 437, begins thus---"In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Cum sectæ hereticorum olim fuerint multe, quæ omnino fere destructæ sunt per gratiam Jesu Christi, tamen dum principales modo liveant, quarum altera vocatur Cathari, sive Paterini; altera Leoniste, seu Pauperes de Lugduno, quarum opiniones præsentī paginæ annotantur." It then proceeds immediately, "de diversis sectis Catharorum," and goes on agreeing in the main with a great part of the remainder of this chapter, as printed in the Bib. Pat. There are, however, a great many verbal differences. I here reprint the text of the Bib. Pat. and some of the most important various readings of the Summa, I shall insert between brackets---where they are anything more than additions, the words of the B. P. text, for which they are substituted, will be marked by italics---and where the reader finds words between brackets, in italics, he will understand that they are wanting in the Summa.]

[Sciendum est itaque primum quod prima] Secta [videlicet] Catharorum divisa est in tres partes, sive sectas principales.

Quarum primi vocantur Albanenses: Secundi, Concorozenses: tertii, Bagnolenses. Et hi omnes sunt in Lombardia. Cæteri vero Cathari, sive sint in Tuscia, sive in Marchia, vel in Provincia, non discrepant in opinionibus a dictis Catharis, seu ab aliquibus eorum. Habent igitur omnes Cathari opiniones communes; in quibus concordant; et proprias in quibus discordant. Communes opiniones omnium Catharorum sunt istæ; videlicet, quod diabolus fecerit hunc mundum, et omnia, quæ in eo sunt. Item, quod omnia Sacramenta Ecclesiæ, scilicet Sacramentum Baptismi aquæ *materialis*, [naturalis] et cætera Sacramenta, nihil prosint ad salutem,

et quod non sint vera Sacramenta Christi, et ejus Ecclesiæ, sed deceptorum et diabolica, et Ecclesiæ malignantium. Item, communis opinio omnium Catharorum est; quod matrimonium carnale semper fuerit mortale peccatum: et quod non puniatur aliquis gravius in futuro propter adulterium et incestum, quam propter legitimum conjugium. Nec etiam apud eos quisquam gravius puniretur. Item, omnes Cathari negant carnis resurrectionem futuram. Item credunt, quod comedere carnes, ova vel caseum, etiam in urgente necessitate, sit mortale peccatum. Item, quod potestates sæculares peccent mortaliter puniendo malefactores, vel hæreticos. Item, quod nemo possit salvus fieri, nisi per ipsos. Item, quod omnes parvuli etiam [non] baptizati non *levius* [lenius] æternaliter puniantur, quam homicidæ et latrones. Sed in hoc dissentiunt Albanenses dicentes quod nulla creatura boni Dei peribit. Item, omnes negant Purgatorium. Item, est communis opinio omnium Catharorum, quod graviter peccaret, quicumque occideret avem aliquam a minima usque ad maximam: et quadrupedia, a mustela usque ad elephantem. Sed de cæteris animalibus non sic intelligunt. Cathari ad instar simiarum, quæ actus hominis imitari conantur, quatuor habens Sacramenta, falsa tamen, et inania, illicita et sacrilega; quæ sunt, manus impositio, panis benedictio, pœnitentia et ordo. De singulis per ordinem dicamus. Manus impositio vocatur ab eis consolamentum, et spirituale baptisma, sive baptisma Spiritus Sancti, sine quo, secundum eos, nec peccatum mortale dimittitur, nec Spiritus Sanctus alicui datur, sed per eam solummodo ab eis factum, utrumque confertur. Differunt tamen in hoc ab eis aliquantulum Albanenses: dicunt enim, quod manus ibi nihil operatur, cum ipsa a diabolo sit creata secundum eos, ut infra dicetur; sed sola Dominica oratio, quam ipsi dicunt tunc; [qui manus imponunt] [et] [Cæteri vero Cathari dicunt] quod utrumque necessarium ibi requiritur, videlicet, et manus impositio, et Dominica oratio.

Est enim [etiam] communis opinio omnium Catharorum, quod per illam impositionem manus et orationem Dominicam, non fiat aliqua remissio peccatorum, si illi, *quibus tunc manus* [qui manum] imponunt, sunt tunc in aliquo mortali peccato. Fit autem hic manus impositio a duobus ad minus; et non solum a prælatis eorum, sed etiam a subditis; et in necessitate, a Catharabus.

Fractio panis est quædam benedictio panis Catharorum, quam ipsi quotidie faciunt tam in prandio, quam in cœna. Fit autem hæc panis fractio tali modo: Cum ingressi sunt ad mensam Cathari, sive Catharæ, tunc stantes omnes dicunt Pater noster. Interim, qui prior est *processione*, [professione] vel ordine, *tenens panem unum vel* [tenet panem vinum, vel etiam] plures, si necesse est ad multitudinem, quæ forte ibi esset; et dicendo; 'Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi sit [semper] cum omnibus nobis, frangit panem sive panes, et distribuit omnibus discumbentibus, non solum Catharis, sed etiam credentibus suis, adulterantibus, latronibus et homicidis. Veruntamen Albanenses dicunt; quod panis ille corporalis non benedicitur, nec possit recipere benedictionem aliquam, cum ipse panis sit creatura diaboli, secundum eos, et in hoc differunt a cæteris omnibus, qui dicunt, quod panis ille vere benedicitur. Nemo tamen ex eis credit, quod ex illo pane conficiatur Christi corpus.



Pœnitentia autem Catharorum *omnium* [omnino] proculdubio est falsa, vana, deceptoria, et venenosa, sicut consequenter ostenditur. Tria namque requiruntur in vera et fructuosa pœnitentia, scilicet cordis contritio, oris confessio, et operis satisfactio. Ego autem frater *Rinherus* [Ranerius,] olim hæresiarcha, nunc Dei gratia, sacerdos in Ordine Fratrum Prædicatorum, licet indignus, dico indubitanter et testificor coram Deo, quia non mentior, quod illorum trium non est aliquod inter Catharos, sive in pœnitentia eorum. Erroris namque venenum, quod biberunt, ex antiqui serpentis ore, non sinit eos de peccatis suis habere aliquem dolorem.

Hic autem error quadruplex est. Primus videlicet est, quod pro aliquo peccato *non diminuatur æterna gloria* [nec gloria æterna alicui pœnitenti diminuitur]. Secunda est, quod pœna inferni impœnitenti non augeatur. Tertius est; quod ignis *purgationis* [purgatorius] nemini reservetur. Quartus, quod impositione manus culpa et pœna a Deo totaliter relaxatur: non enim minus punietur infans unius diei, quam Judas proditor: sed omnes sunt æquales tam in gloria, quam in pœna, sicut ipsi credunt. Exceptis tamen Albanensibus, qui dicunt; quisque restituetur in gradum pristinum, non propriis tamen meritis: et quod in utroque regno, Dei scilicet et Diaboli, alii majores sunt aliis. Dico etiam, quod multi ex eis, qui infecti sunt memoratis erroribus, sæpe dolent, cum recolunt, quod non *repleverunt* [impleverunt sapius] libidinem suam tempore, quo non [dum] fuerunt professi hæresim Catharorum. Et hæc est causa, quare multi credentes tam viri, quam mulieres, non timent magis ad sororem suam, et filium sive filiam, fratrem, neptem consanguineam et cognatam accedere, quam ad uxorem et virum proprium. Tamen alii ex eis ob horribilitatem ac humanam verecundiam fortasse ab hujusmodi retrahuntur.

Probatur etiam manifeste, quod non dolent de peccatis suis, quæ ante professionem suæ hæresis commiserunt, pro eo, quod nulli restituunt, usuram, furtum, vel rapinam: imo reservant ea, vel potius relinquunt filiis, et nepotibus in sæculo remanentibus, quia dicunt usuram nullum esse peccatum. Præterea dico, quod in XVII annis, quibus, heu, conversatus sum cum eis, non vidi aliquem ex eis orare secreto seorsim ab aliis, aut ostendere se tristem de peccatis suis, seu lachrymari, vel percutere pectus suum, et dicere; Deus propitius esto mihi peccatori, sive aliquid hujusmodi, quod esset signum contritionis. Nunquam etiam implorant patrocinium Angelorum, vel Sanctorum, seu B. Mariæ Virginis; neque se muniunt signo crucis.

Sequitur de confessione Catharorum, qualis sit, et quando ipsi eam faciant, et quibus confiteantur. Confessio eorum hæc est: 'Ego sum [hic] coram Deo et vobis ad faciendum confessionem, et ad ponendum me in culpam de omnibus peccatis meis, quæ sunt in me usque modo, et ad recipiendum de eis omnibus veniam a Deo et a vobis.' Fit etiam ista confessio publice coram omnibus, qui ibi sunt congregati: ubi multoties sunt centum et plures viri et mulieres et credentes eorum Cathari. Et dictam confessionem facit [unus] quisque eorum, quando recipit dictam manus impositionem, et facit eam principaliter Prælato eorum, tenenti Codicem Evangeliorum, vel totius novi Testamenti, *in pectore suo* [ante pectus suum]. Qui facta absolutione, ponit dictum librum super caput ipsius, et



alii Cathari, qui adsunt *suam dexteram, incipiendo consequenter oratio suas* [manum dextram incipientes quærunť suas orationes]. *Quata* [quando] autem quis eorum cadit in peccatum carnis, vel in aliquod, quod sit secundum opiniones eorum mortale: postquam recepit dictam manus impositionem, oportet eum confiteri illud peccatum tantum, et non aliter iterum recipere manus impositionem secreto a Præfato suo, et ab alio cum eo ad minus. [Item de venialibus fit confessio hoc modo] unus omnibus loquens alta voce, omnibusque inclinatis ad terram, coram Præfato tenente librum *circa* [ante] pectus suum, dicit: Nos venimus cor Deo et vobis, confitendo peccata nostra; quia multum peccavimus verbis, opere, in visione, cogitatione, et huiusmodi. Unde apparet manifeste, quod omnes Cathari sine confessione moriuntur in peccatis suis. Et hoc modo ipsi confitentur tantum semel in mense si commode possunt.

Sequitur de satisfactione Catharorum. Ubi videndum est, si Cathari faciant opera sua pro satisfactione peccatorum, quæ priusquam profiterentur suam sectam; commiserunt. Ad quod breviter dico, quod non: licet ignorantibus forte hoc mirabile videatur. Nam frequenter orant, jejuniis abstinentque omni tempore a carnibus, ovibus, cascoque: omnia videlicet opera satisfactoria pro peccatis eorum; de quibus sæpe inaniter gloriantur. Sed est triplex error in eis, qui facit, prædicta opera non esse satisfactoria. Primus est, quod culpa et pœna totaliter huiusmodi dimittitur per eorum manus impositionem et orationem; vel, per orationem tantum, secundum Albanenses, sicut supra dictum est. Secundus error est; quod Deus non infert pœnam purgatoriam, quam penitus esse negant; neque temporalem quam a Diabolo inferri putant in hac vita. Hæc est etiam causa, quod ipsi non iungant pœnitentiam abstinentiæ alicui, neque in pœnitentiæ neque in remissionem peccatorum suorum. Tertius est; quod omnis homo tenetur necessario facere illa opera, tanquam præcepta Dei. Ita enim per decem annorum, qui nullum unquam mortale peccatum commiserat, aut quam fieret Catharus, punitur sicut senex, qui multo tempore nunquam peccato cessaverat. Non enim gravius puniretur Catharus aliquis a quoque eis, qui biberet toxicum, volens seipsum occidere, quam si pro merenda comederet pullum de consilio medicinæ, vel in alio [aliquo] casu necessitatis: nec etiam in futuro gravius puniretur secundum eos. Item etiam dicunt de matrimonio, sicut supra dictum est. Item elemosinas paucas, vel nullas faciunt extraneis, nisi forte propter scandalum viciorum suorum vitandum, et ut honorificentur ab eis. Paucas etiam faciunt suis pauperibus, et est duplex causa: Prima est, quod se non sperant in habere maiorem gloriam in futuro, neque suorum veniam peccatorum. Secunda est, quod fere omnes avarissimi sunt, et tenaces. [Et est causa quia pauperes eorum qui tempore persecutionis non habent victui necessaria, vel ea quibus possint restaurare suis receptoribus res et domos, quod pro eis destruuntur, vix possunt invenire aliquem qui velit eos tunc recipere. Sed divites Cathari multos inveniunt; quare quilibet eorum potest, divitias sibi congregat et conservat]. Sequitur de oratione Catharorum. Hanc maxime putant necessariam esse, quando ipsi sumunt cibum, vel potum. Igitur multi ex ipsi dixerunt in suis infirmitatibus aliquando illis, qui eis ministrabant; quod non ponerent aliquid cibi

potus in os eorum, si illi infirmi ad minus non possent dicere, Pater noster. Unde verisimile est, quod multi ex eis occidunt hoc modo se ipsos, et a suis cohereticis sunt occisi. Ex præmissis itaque patet apertissime, quod Cathari nullam faciunt pœnitentiam, maxime cum non habeant contritionem de peccatis, neque confiteantur ea, neque pro eis satisfaciant; quamvis multum se affligant: et quod *pro suis erroribus et peccatis externis gravissime puniantur* [pro suis erroribus in æternum gravissime puniuntur]. Sequitur de quarto Sacramento Catharorum, scilicet de Ordine. Circa quod nota quinque. Primo, quod ordines habeant. Secundo, de nominibus eorum. Tertio, de officio cujuscunque Ordinis. Quarto, quomodo et quibus fiunt. Ultimo, quot et ubi sint Ecclesiæ eorum, scilicet Catharorum.

Primo ergo nota, quod Ordines Catharorum sunt quatuor. Ille, qui est in primo et maximo [constitutus] Ordine vocatur Episcopus. Ille, qui in secundo, vocatur Filius Major. Qui in tertio; Filius Minor. Qui in quarto et ultimo, vocatur Diaconus. Cæteri, qui sunt sine ordine inter eos, vocantur Christiani et Christianæ. Secundo nota; quod officium Episcopi est, semper tenere prioratum in omnibus, quæ faciunt; scilicet in impositione manus, in fractione panis, et in incipiendo orare: quæ quidem servant filius major, absente Episcopo, et filius minor, absente [episcopo et filio] majore. Præterea isti duo filii, simul, vel separatim discurrunt visitare omnes Catharos, qui sunt sub Episcopo, et eis tenentur obedire omnes. Similiter faciunt et servant in omnibus Diacones; et unusquisque in suis subditis, absentibus Episcopo et filiis. Et nota quod Episcopus et filii habent in singulis civitatibus, [maxime] in quibus morantur, [Cathari] singulos Diacones. Ita nota, quod officium Diaconorum est audire confessiones venialium peccatorum, quæ fiunt semel in mense, sicut supra dictum est; et subditis suis facere absolutionem, injungendo eis tribus diebus jejunium, vel centum inclinationes flexis genibus, et appellatur illud officium, ut ita loquar, caregare servitium.

Fiunt vero Ordines prædicti ab Episcopo, et etiam a filiis de licentia Episcopi. Ordinatio autem Episcopi consueverat fieri in hunc modum: Mortuo Episcopo, Filius minor ordinabit filium majorem in Episcopum: et iste postea ordinabit Filium minorem in Filium majorem. Post eligebatur filius minor ab omnibus Prælatiis et subditis, qui erant ad hoc congregati ab Episcopo, et ordinabatur in Filium minorem. Et hæc ordinatio Filii minoris, non est mutata inter eos. Illa vero, quæ supra dicitur de Episcopo, mutata est ab omnibus Catharis *manentibus circa* [morantibus circa] mare: dicentibus, quod per talem ordinationem [videtur quod] filius instituat Patrem, [ut videtur]: quod satis apparet incongruum. Unde *est* [fit] modo aliter in hac forma. Antee mortem enim suam Episcopus ordinat Filium majorem in Episcopum, et si moritur, filius fit Episcopus. Minor vero Filius, major fit Filius eodem die: Et ita fere quilibet etiam Catharorum semper habet duos Episcopos. Unde Joannes de *Lugduno* [Lugio] qui est unus de illis taliter ordinatus in suis Epistolis se sic describit: '*Joannes de Lugduno Dei Gratia*, [Johannes Dei Gratia] Filius major et Episcopus ordinatus,' &c. Sed utraque ordinatio manifeste reprehensibilis est; quia nec filius carnalis unquam instituit suum genitorem:

et etiam nunquam legitur, quod una eademque Ecclesia, *eodem tempore* duos habuerit hos Episcopos, [habuit eodem tempore duos Episcopos] sicut nec una mulier duos [legitimos] viros. Fiant autem omnes supradicti Ordines cum impositione manus, et attribuitur illa gloria [gratia] scilicet conferendi Ordines memoratos, et dandi Spiritum Sanctum soli Episcopo eorum; vel, qui major est, et auctor in tenendo librum novi Testamenti super caput illius, cui imponitur manus.

Nota insuper, Cathari in maximo laborant dubio, et periculo animæ: Verbi gratia, si Prælati eorum, et maxime Episcopus, occulte commiserit aliquod mortale peccatum, quales etiam multi olim reperti sunt inter eos, omnes illi quidem, quibus ipse manum imponit, *fiunt* [sint] decepti, et pereunt, si in eo statu decedunt. Etiam causa hujus periculi vitandi, omnes Ecclesiæ Catharorum, una excepta solummodo, vel duabus; receperunt secundo, et aliquæ tertio, consolamentum, id est, manus impositionem, quod est Baptisma eorum, ut supra dicitur, et de prædictis est fama publica inter eos.

Sunt autem XVI. omnes Ecclesiæ Catharorum. Nec imputes mihi, o Lector, quod eas appello Ecclesias, sed potius eis, *qui se ita* [quia ita se] vocant. Quarum nomina sunt hæc; Ecclesia Albanensis, vel de *Sansano* [Donnezacho]; Ecclesia de Contorezo: Ecclesia Bagnolensium, sive de Bagnolo: Ecclesia *Vicentina*, [Vincentina] vel de Marchia; Ecclesia Florentina; Ecclesia de Valle Spoletana; Ecclesia Franciæ; Ecclesia Tolosana; Ecclesia *Carthasensis* [Carcassonensis]; Ecclesia *Albisensis* [Albigensis]; Ecclesia Slavoniæ, Ecclesia Latinorum de Constantinopoli; Ecclesia Græcorum ibidem: Ecclesia Philadelphię *Romaniolæ* [in Romania,] Ecclesia *Bulgariæ* [Burgaliæ,] Ecclesia *Dugraniciæ* [Dugunthiæ.] Et omnes originem habuerunt a duabus ultimis: Primi scilicet Albanenses, morantur Veronæ, et in plurimis civitatibus Lombardiæ; et sunt numero fere quingenti, utriusque sexus. Illi autem de Contorezo [Concorrezo diffusi] sunt fere per totam Lombardiam, et sunt bene mille quingenti, vel etiam plures. Bagnolenses morantur in Mantua, Brixia, Bergomi, et in Comitatu Mediolanensium, sed pauci, et in Romaniola, et sunt fere ducenti. Ecclesia de Marchia nihil habet Veronæ; sed sunt circiter [C. Illi de Tuscia et de Valle Spoletana fere C. Ecclesia Franciæ morantur Veronæ et in Lombardia; et sunt circiter] C.L. Ecclesia Tholosana, et *Albisensis* [Albigensis,] et *Charchagensis* [Carcassonensis] cum quibusdam, quæ olim fuerunt, ut Ecclesia *Auzinensis* [Agenensis,] quæ fere destructa est, sunt fere CCC. [CC.] Ecclesia Latinorum in Constantinopoli sunt fere L. Item Ecclesia *Slavoniæ*, *Græcorum*, *Philadelphię*, *Bulgariæ* [Slavoniæ, et Philadelphię, et Græcorum Burgariæ,] et *Dugraniciæ* sunt *omnis gentis simul* [Dugunthiæ omnes simul fere D.] O Lector dicas secure, quod in toto mundo non sunt Cathari utriusque sexus quatuor millia, [sed credentes innumeri.] Et dicta computatio pluries [olim] facta est inter eos.

Sequitur de propriis opinionibus Catharorum. Et primo de Ecclesia Albanensi, qui alio modo dicuntur *Senzano* [de Donzenacho]; eo quod errant in pluribus, quam cæteri Cathari. Primo igitur notabiliter sciendum est, quod isti Albanenses divisi sunt in duas partes in opinionibus con-



trariis et diversis. Unius partis caput est *Gelesmanza* [Balasinansa] Veronensis eorum Episcopus: et hunc sequuntur plurimi antiquiores, et pauci juvenes ejus sectæ. Alterius vero sectæ caput est Joannes de *Lugduno* [Lugio] Bergomensis eorum filius major et ordinatus episcopus: et hunc e contrario sequuntur juniores, et pauci antiquiores. Et ista pars satis est major, quam prima. Prima pars tenet opiniones antiquiores, quas omnes Cathari [et Albanenses] [antiquiores] habebant in annis Domini currentibus [M.CC. usque ad annos currentes] M.CC.XXX.

Itaque opiniones istorum, præter communes suprascriptas, sunt istæ, quod sint duo principia a Deo, videlicet boni et mali. Item, quod Trinitas, scilicet Pater et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus, non est unus Deus; sed quod Pater major est Filio, et Spiritu Sancto. Item, quod utrumque principium, sive uterque Deus, creavit angelos suos, et suum mundum: et quod iste mundus est creatus, factus et formatus a malo Deo, et omnia quæ sunt in eo. Item, quod Diabolus cum suis angelis ascendit in cælum, et facto ibidem prælio cum Michaelæ Archangelo, *Angelus* [et angelis] boni Dei extraxit inde *etiam* [tertiā] partem creaturarum Dei; et infundit eas quotidie in humanis corporibus et brutis et etiam de uno corpore in aliud, donec dictæ creaturæ reducantur in cælum. Vocantur autem istæ creaturæ Dei secundum eos, 'populus Dei,' et 'animæ atque oves domus Israel,' et etiam aliis nominibus. Item, quod Filius Dei non assumpsit humanam naturam in veritate; sed ejus similem ex beata Virgine, quam dicunt fuisse Angelum. Et, quod non vere comedit et bibit, nec vere passus est, nec mortuus, nec sepultus: nec ejus resurrectio vera fuit, sed quod hæc fuerunt putativa, sicut de ipso legitur. 'Ut putaretur filius Joseph.' Similiter de omnibus miraculis, quæ Christus fecit. Item, quod Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob, Moyses et cæteri plures patres antiqui, et beatus Joannes Baptista, fuerunt inimici Dei, et ministri Diaboli. Item, quod Diabolus fuerit auctor totius Veteris Testamenti, exceptis his libris; scilicet, Job, Psalterio, libris Salomonis, Sapientiæ, filii Sirach, Isaia, Hieremiæ, Ezechiel, Daniel, et XII. Prophetarum; quorum quosdam scriptos fuisse in cælo, illos scilicet, qui fuerunt scripti ante destructionem Hierusalem, quam credunt etiam esse cælestem. Item, quod mundus iste nunquam habebit finem. Item, quod Judicium futurum, jam factum est, nec amplius fiet. Item, quod infernus et ignis æternus, sive pœnæ æternæ sunt in isto mundo, et non alibi. Sic quidem prædictas opiniones tenebant omnes Albanenses generaliter in prædicto tempore, exceptis simplicioribus, quibus singula non revelabantur.

Ultimo nota, quod Cathari Ecclesiæ Tolosanæ et *Corozenses* [Albigensis et Carcassonensis] tenent errores *Gelosimaze* [Belezmansæ] et [antiquorum] Albanensium, et Ecclesiæ [fere] omnes Catharorum de ultra mare, quo ultimo [quas] scripsi, similiter. Nulla vero Ecclesia Catharorum concordat in omnibus cum Catharis Ecclesiæ de Concorezo. Ecclesia Franciæ concordat cum Bagnolensibus. Illi vero de Marchia Teruisina. Tuscia, et Valle Spoletana concordant cum Bagnolensibus in pluribus, quam cum Albanensibus; [sed paulatim trahuntur ab Albanensibus]. Item omnes ecclesiæ Catharorum recipiunt se invicem, licet diversas habeant opiniones et contrarias [præter Albanenses]. Et Concorezenses, qui se damnant ad

invicem, sicut supra dictum est. Si quis vero Catharus, sive Cathara, juscunque sit sectæ, non fuerit confessus prædictos errores proprios, saltem communes, tunc de illo dicendum est, quod ipse in hypocrisi mendacium loquitur, quod est proprium Catharorum, teste Apostolo, qui de eis sine velamine prophetavit, *et sive* [nisi forte] fuerit homo simpli-  
*ut* [vel] novitius [inter eos]; *alias in multis sectis* [talibus enim multorum illorum secreta minime revelantur].

[The *Summa Rerum*, as it regards the Cathari, ends here; a circumstance which confirms doubt which I have expressed respecting what follows.]

Manichæi, furta, rapinas, sacrilegia non damnant; imo dicunt hujusmodi licere. Matrimonium damnant, dicentes; hoc esse meritoriam fornicationem. Sed incestum naturalem cum matre propria vel sorore, et cum matre, dicunt esse mundam fornicationem, dummodo fiant secundum ritum sectæ, qui talis est; si quis ex ipsis vult abuti propria matre, dabit ei XVIII. denarios, sex pro eo, quod concepit eum; sex pro eo, quod peperit eum, sex pro eo, quod nutrit eum; Et sic soluta lege naturali, seu naturaliter abutitur ea; quia nihil ei attinere putatur, et omnino liber efficitur ab omni naturali reverentia matris: sicut saccus liber efficitur a fimo, quando fuerit excussus. Qui sorore voluerit abuti, dabit ei 3 denarios. Qui commatrem, dabit ei novem denarios. Et sic licitum est dicunt (incestum) sine omni peccato. *Aquam benedictam*, tanquam venenum execrantur, dicentes, quod si quis hominum de ipsorum secta ea fuerit aspersus; debeat excavari de carne ejus cum acubus et subulis. Peregrinationes ultra mare, sive ad limina sanctorum, nihil aliud esse dicunt, quam quod homines inaniter sua corpora currendo fatigent. Ecclesiam Romanam diunt meretricem. Unde Domino Papæ, et omnibus Episcopis, sacerdotibus et clericis catholicis contradicunt dicentes se Ecclesiam Dei et illos mundi seductores. Episcopus autem eorum sic dedicatur. Porro ab utero matris egressum, antequam gustet lac maternum, accipit nutrit eum lacte amygdalino et pecudis, et demum esu piscium. Cavetur autem, quod nunquam gustet carnes, neque lactinia, nec aliquid quod coitu nascitur. Demum, cum ad annos discretionis pervenit, ipso vice est Episcopus sectæ. Porro quando ad locum secretum credentium conveniunt, ante præfatum Episcopum procidunt super genua adorantes eum, et dicunt singuli; 'Parce nobis Domine.' Et subjungit unusquisque dicens hæc verba Teutonice. 'Nimmer musse ich ersterlich ich musse umb euch erwerben. dasz mein end gut werde.' At ille singulis manus imponens dicit hæc verba ter super unumquemque adorantium 'Du werdest ein gut Mann.' Credentibus ipsorum nullam dant spem salutis, nisi ad ipsorum sectam, relictis omnibus, convertantur, vel saltem extremo vitæ articulo manus impositionem ab ipsis accipiant. Dicunt enim, omnia peccata per manus impositionem ab ipsis factam relaxari Spiritum Sanctum infundi. Et hoc volunt probare per illam auctoritatem Actuum: 'Tunc imponebant manus super illos, et accipiebant Spiritum Sanctum.' Quando autem aliquem in extremo vitæ periculo recipere vident, dant ei optionem; Utrum velit in regno cælorum esse cum sanctis Martyribus vel Confessoribus. Si autem elegerit statum Martyrium, tamen manutergio ad hoc specialiter deputato, quod Theutonice vocatur, Be-



tuch, ipsum strangulant, ostio super eum clauso. Si autem Confessorum elegerit, tunc post manus impositionem nil dant ei ad esum, nec puram aquam ad bibendum; et ita fame ipsum perimunt.

QUOMODO SECTÆ AGNOSCANTUR. CAP. VII.

Hæretici cognoscuntur per mores et verba. Sunt enim in moribus compositi et modesti: superbiam in vestibus non habent, quia nec pretiosis, nec multum abjectis utuntur. Negotiationes non habent propter mendacia et juramenta, et fraudes vitandas; sed tantum vivunt de labore, ut opifices. Doctores etiam ipsorum sunt sutores et textores. Divitias non multiplicant, sed necessariis sunt contenti Casti etiam sunt, maxime *Leonistæ*. Temperati etiam sunt in cibo et potu. Ad tabernas non eunt, nec ad choreas, nec ad alias vanitates. Ab ira se cohibent: semper operantur, discunt vel docent, et ideo parum orant. Item ad Ecclesiam fecte vadunt, offerunt et confitentur, et communicant, et intersunt prædicationibus, sed ut prædicantem capiant in sermone. Cognoscuntur etiam in verbis præcis et modestis. Cavent etiam a scurrilitate et detractone et verborum levitate, et mendacio et juramento. Nec dicunt *vere*, vel *certe*, et similia; quia, hæc reputant juramenta. Item ad quæstiones raro directe respondent: Ut, si quærat ab ipsis; 'Scis tu Evangelium vel Epistolas?' respondent; 'Quis docuisset me ista?' vel dicunt; 'Hujusmodi debent scire, qui sunt magni vel profundi intellectus; vel, qui ad hoc sunt otiosi vel idonei:' vel dicunt, sibi licere; quia Christus dixit Judæis, 'Solvite templum hoc,' de corporis sui templo intelligens; et ipsi intelligebant de templo Salomonis. Dicunt etiam, 'est, est, non, non.'

QUOMODO SE INGERANT FAMILIARITATI MAGNORUM. CAP. VIII.

Hæretici callide student, qualiter se ingerant familiaritati nobilium et magnorum. Et hoc faciunt hoc modo. Aliquas merces gratas, ut annulos et pepla Domini et Dominabus exhibent ad emendum. Quibus venditis, si homines quærant ab eo, habes plures ad vendendum? respondet, habeo preciosiores gemmas, quam sunt istæ; has vobis darem, si faceretis me securum, quod non proderetis me Clericis. Securitate itaque accepta, dicit: habeo gemmam a Deo fulgentem, quod homo per eam cognoscit Deum. Aliam (habeo) quæ tantum rutilat, quod amorem Dei accendit in corde habentis eam, et sic de cæteris; gemmas dicit metaphorice. Postea recitat sibi aliquod devotum Capitulum, ut est id Lucæ; 'Missus est Angelus Gabriel,' &c. Vel de sermone Domini; Joan. 13. 'Ante diem festum,' &c. Cum igitur ipse inceperit auditori placere, tunc subdit Capitulum Matt. 23. 'Super Cathedram Moysi,' &c. 'Væ vobis, qui tulistis clavem scientiæ; ipsi non intratis, et cæteros intrare prohibetis. Et illud Marci 12. 'Væ vobis, qui devoratis domos viduarum,' et quæ sequuntur, Quæsitus autem ab auditore, de quo istæ imprecationes intelligantur, respondet, de Clericis et religiosis. Post, hæreticus facit comparisonem status Ecclesiæ Romanæ ad statum ipsorum; sic dicens; 'Doctores Romanæ Ecclesiæ sunt fastuosi in vestibus et in moribus,' Matt. 23. 'Amant primos recubitos et vocari appetunt ab hominibus Rabbi.' Rabbinos vero tales non quærimus. Item, ipsi sunt incontinentes; sed unusquisque nostrum uxorem suam habet, et cum ea caste vivit. Item sunt divites et avari, quibus dicitur; 'Væ vobis divitibus, qui habetis hic consolationem vestram.' Nos



vero habentes victum et vestes, quibus possumus tegi, his contenti sumus. Item sunt voluptuosi, quibus dicitur; 'Vae vobis, qui devoratis domos duarum,' &c. Nos vero utcumque sustentamur. Item ipsi pugnant et inducunt, et mandant occidi et incendi pauperes: quibus dicitur; 'O qui acceperit gladium, gladio peribit.' Nos vero ab eis persecutionem timemus propter iustitiam. Item comedunt panem otiosum; nihil opera. Nos vero manibus operamur. Item ipsi volunt esse Doctores soli; quod dicitur Matt. 23. 'Vae vobis qui tulistis clavem scientiae.' Apud nos tam foeminae, quam viri docent, et discipulus septem dierum docet alium. Item, rarus est Doctor inter eos, qui tria Capitula continue Novi Testamenti literaliter sciat corde. Apud nos vero rarus est vir vel foemina, textum non sciat vulgariter recitare. Et quia veram fidem Christi habemus, et sanctam vitam et doctrinam docemus omnes nos; ideo scribae pharisaei gratis persequuntur nos ad mortem, ut Christum. Praeterea tantum dicunt et non faciunt, et alligant onera gravia in humeros hominum sed digito suo haec non movent; nos vero omnia facimus, quae doceamus. Item, ipsi plus cogunt servari traditiones hominum, quam Dei mandata jejunia, festa, ire ad Ecclesiam, et multa alia, quae sunt hominum instituta. Nos vero tantum doctrinam Christi servare suademus et Apostolorum. Item ipsi poenitentes onerant poenis gravissimis, quas nec digito movemus. Nos vero exemplo Christi dicimus peccatori; 'Vade jam, et amplius peccare;' et ei per manus impositionem omnia peccata relaxamus animas transmittimus in morte ad coelum. Ipsi autem fere omnes animas transmittunt ad infernum.' His et aliis propositis, dicit haereticus; 'Nate, quis status sit perfectior, et quae fides? nostra, vel Ecclesiae Romae et illum eligit.' Et sic a fide catholica subvertitur per errores eo aversus: Et sic credens ipsorum, et receptator, et fautor, et defensor per plures menses ipsum occultans, in domo discit de secta ipsorum. *Pat. Tom. IV. p. II. 746.*

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No. XXXVI. p. 438.

*Stephanus de Borbone.*

[See before, No. II. of these Authorities.]

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No. XXXVII. p. 439.

*Guillelmus de Podio Laurentii.*

"DE his quae vel ipse vidi, vel audiavi a proximo, duxi aliqua in scriptis posteris relinquenda." . . . . . Erantque quidam Arriani, quidam Manichaei, quidam etiam Vvaldenses, sive Lugdunenses, qui licet inter se dissensissent omnes tamen in animarum perniciem contra fidem catholicam conspirant et illi quidam Waldenses contra alios acutissime disputabant. *Prolog. p.*

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No. XXXVIII. p. 440.

*Petrus de Pilichdorf.*

CAP. I. Ortus et origo Waldensium haereticorum talis est: licet quitatis filii coram simplicibus mentiantur dicentes, sectam eorum dui-

a temporibus Sylvestri Papæ, quando videlicet ecclesia cœpit habere proprias possessiones; hoc hæresiarchæ reputant non licere; cum apostoli Christi sine proprio jussi sint vivere, Matt. 10. 'Nolite possidere aurum neque argentum,' &c. .... Mentiuntur ergo, quod ex tempore Sylvestri Papæ sectæ eorum duraverint. Unde notandum quod fere octingentis annis post Papam Sylvestrum, tempore Innocentii Papæ II. in civitate Walden, quæ in finibus Franciæ sita est, fuit quidam cives dives, qui vel ipse legit, vel audivit, Dominum dixisse cuidam adolescenti, Matt. 19. 'Si vis perfectus esse, vade et vende omnia, quæ habes, et da pauperibus.' Et cum ille tristis abisset, eo quod dives fuerat, multas possessiones habens, dixit Dominus; 'Quia dives difficile intrabit in regnum cœlorum.' Et iterum: 'Multo facilius est camelum per foramen acus, transire, quam divitem intrare in regnum cœlorum.' Et post pauca, dixit Petrus Domino; 'Ecce nos reliquimus omnia et secuti sumus te.' Putabat ille Petrus Waldensis; cum hanc audiret, aut legeret scripturam, quod vita Apostolica jam non esset in terra. Unde cogitabat eam innovare; et, omnibus venditis, et pauperibus datis, cœpit vitam pauperem ducere: quod videntes quidam alii, corde compuncti sunt, et fecerunt similiter. Inter quos prædicto Petro quidam se adjunxit, qui dictus erat Joannes, et erat de Lugduno.

Cum autem diu in paupertate stetissent, inceperunt cogitare, quod etiam Apostoli Christi non solum erant pauperes, imò etiam prædicatores, cœperunt et ipsi prædicare verbum Dei. Quod, postquam ad sedem apostolicam, pervenisset, mandat Dominus Apostolicus, quod cessarent; cum prædicatio verbi Dei rudibus et illiteratis non conveniat: ipsi noluerunt obedire; quasi hoc Romana Curia ex invidia prohiberet. Quo comperto, Ecclesia excommunicavit eos: Et ipsi resistentes contumaciter ab Ecclesia condemnati sunt. Et quia jam in palam prædicare non præsumebant, occulte saltem prædicabant. Unde in odium clericorum et veri sacerdotii ex antiquis erroribus veteranorum hæreticorum, et superadditis novis et damnosis articulis, inceperunt, solis exceptis sacramentis, omnia destruere, et condemnare, et reprobare, per quæ clerus, velut pia mater, filios ejus congregat, sicut gallina congregat pullos suos sub alis. Quorum errores, cum suis aliquibus reprobationibus in sequentibus apparebunt.

Cum autem longo tempore furtive prædicarent, taliter et multos sub pretensa sanctitatis apparenti simulatione a fidelium communione, ad suam sectam adducerent, cogitabant inutiles esse ipsorum prædicationes, nisi etiam scrutarentur conscientias credentium ipsorum per confessiones audire, pœnitentias injungere, et a peccatis absolvere. Et quia credentes ipsorum viderunt, et quotidie vident, eos exteriori sanctitate pollere, Sacerdotes vero ecclesiæ quam plurimos, vitiis, proh dolor; et maxime carnalibus insistere; credunt se melius per eos a peccatis absolvi posse, quam per sacerdotes ecclesiæ. Et nisi divina clementia dignata fuerit prælatis ecclesiæ majorem inspirare vigilantiam, timendum est, ne forte majorem sibi adhuc usurpent potestatem. Nam noviter compertum est, quod quidam hæresiarcha, licet fuerit purus laicus, corpus Christi, ut sibi videbatur, confecerit, et seipsum, et quosdam complices communicaverit, licet fuerit super hoc ab aliis hæresiarchis aliquantulum redargutus." *Bib. Pat. Tom. IV. 779.*

## No. XXXIX. p. 471.

“**PAUPERES** de Lugduno solum semel consecrant in anno, scilicet Coena Domini; et tunc quasi juxta noctem, ille qui præest inter eos, sacerdos, convocat omnes de sua familia utriusque sexus, facit ibi azymam præparari bancum seu unum serinium, et poni desuper unum galeum cui postea superponunt unum bonum scyphum de vino puro, et una gaciam azymam. Postmodum ait ille qui præest astantibus; ‘**Rogamus** Dominum nostrum, quod ipse parcat nobis nostra peccata et nostras visiones propter misericordiam suam, et ea quæ petimus digne propter misericordiam debeat adimplere, et dicamus septies Pater Noster ad rem Dei, et sanctæ Trinitatis, ut ipse hæc faciat.’ Et tunc flexis genibus omnes dicunt septies Pater Noster. Postea vero surgunt; et tunc ille consecrat, signat panem et scyphum, et fracto pane dat omnibus astantibus particulam suam; et postea dat omnibus bibere cum scypho; et semper in pedibus; et sic finitur eorum sacrificium; et credunt firmi confitentur quod istud est corpus et sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi si aliquid superaret de sacrificio, gubernarent illud usque ad Pascha tunc totum sumerent. Si autem essent ibi aliqui alii qui peterent, darent eis.” *Martene, Thes. Nov. Anec. Tom. V. 1754.*

## No. XL. p. 473.

“**CORPUS** Christi et sanguinem non credunt vere esse, sed tantum benedictum, qui in figura quadam dicitur Corpus Christi, sicut tur, Petra autem erat Christus, et simile.” *Ibid. 1779.*



## INDEX.

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ONE of the chief objects of this Index being to enable the reader to compare what is said, in various places, respecting the opinions of the *Albigenses* and *Waldenses*, with regard to any particular doctrine, all such subjects are arranged alphabetically under those two words. How far I am warranted in placing under the head *Albigenses*, what is said of heretics under the names of *Cathari*, *Publicans*, *Manicheans*, &c. the reader will judge from the body of the work; and this course will, it is hoped, assist him—the point is here, however, assumed for the sake of convenience. In like manner, the doctrines ascribed to the *Leonists*, *Poor Men of Lyons*, &c. will be found under the word *Waldenses*.

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*Adoration* of the heretics, 198, 253, 254, 278, 287, 293, 295, 296, 308, 311, 312, 314, 315, 317, 337, 433.  
*Albanenses*, 206, 259, 418, 419, 420, 421, 423, 427.

*Albi*, Council of (in 1254) 209.

**ALBIGENSES and WALDENSES**, review of Mr. Faber's Testimonies respecting their antiquity, 1.—Opinions of early writers on that point, 16, 33, 146, 176, 186, 201, 352, 373, 395, 407, 440.—Distinct Sects, 240, 241, 258, 260, 264, 269, 439.—Doctrines common to, 110, 230.—Moral Character of, 224.—Religious Character of, 451.—Their Title to be considered as the Witnesses, 118, 451, 468, 474.

**ALBIGENSES**, on the Name, 94.—Origin of, 82, 428, 445.—How far Manicheans, 83, 234.—Their Pope, 85, 191.—Doctrines peculiar to, 233.—Charged with Arianism, 21, 139, 149, 155, 429.—With concealing their Doctrine, 357, 390.—With Cupidity, 390, 463.—With taking the Scripture literally, 390.—Nature of their Instruction, 249, n, 452.—Rites peculiar to, 244.

Their Doctrine respecting Absolution, 231, 273, 425.—Abstinence from Meat, 246, 255, 346, 354, 383, 384, 394, 395, 396,

419, 433, 459.—Alms, 164.—Baptism, 140, 144, 148, 164, 165, 237, 308, 319, 346, 348, 354, 358, 364, 372, 381, 387, 393, 418, 445.—Spiritual, 247, 346, 354, 419.—Churches, material, 164, 364, 380, 381.—The Church of Rome, 164, 233, 272, 308, 345, 393, 432.—Confession, 141, 231, 273, 319, 393, 422.—Confirmation, 393.—Creation, 148, 308, 319, 379, 387, 418.—Cross, adoration of, 240, 319, 389.—Sign of, 364.—Eucharist, 148, 237, 308, 319, 347, 355, 364, 372.—Incarnation of Christ, 144, 239, 272, 320, 355, 362, 380, 392, 429.—Intercession of Saints, 348.—Invocation of Saints, 384.—Justification by Faith, 388.—The Mass, 355.—Matrimony 140, 144, 164, 165, 238, 272, 308, 319, 347, 348, 353, 358, 364, 372, 380, 387, 390, 393, 396, 418.—Miracles of Christ, 429.—Monastic Institutions, 364.—Mosaic Law, 140, 379.—Oaths, 141, 144, 166, 319, 385, 388.—Oblations, 364.—Orders, 238, 355, 359, 364, 424.—Penance 148, 231, 381, 420.—Pilgrimages, 432.—Prayers for the Dead, 354, 384.—Punishment, capital, 385, 388.—temporal, 425.—Purgatory, 354, 359, 419, 421.—Repentance,

- 141.—Resurrection, 142, 148, 239, 242, 273, 299, 319, 384, 387, 393, 419.—Sacraments, 148, 236, 277, 278, 293, 317, 346, 364, 418.—Scriptures, 140, 392, 429.—Singing in Churches, 380.—Soul, human, 240, 299, 356, 363, 429.—Tithes, 164, 264.—Transubstantiation, 140, 144, 157, 163, 165, 355, 359, 381, 387, 393.—Two principles, 148, 163, 165, 379, 392, 428.—Unction, extreme, 238, 320, 387.—Water, holy, 364.
- Ambrun* papers, 5, 222 n.
- Ancianus*, 315.
- Arnaldista*, 201, 206, 210, 446, 450.
- Arnaud, Henri*, extracts respecting, 475.
- Bagnaroli*, 206.
- Bagnolenses*, 418, 427.
- Barbes*, 448.
- Believers*, or *Credentes*, 177, 196, 198, 203, 428.
- Benediction* of Albigenes, 337.
- Bernard of Clairvaux*, 19, 343.
- Bernard of Fontcaud*, 372.
- Beziers*, Council of (in 1233), 196.
- Bishop* of Albigenes, 191, 382, 394, 425, 432.—Of Waldenses, 415.
- Bleeding*, 340.
- Boni homines*, 139, 294, 299, 305, 394, 416.
- Burgundy*, Waldenses from, 265.
- Cathari*, 175, 177, 200, 206, 210, 261, 350, 353, 417 et seq.—Churches of, 427.
- Charroux*, Council of (in 1028), 89.
- Circumcisi*, 206.
- Colonne*, heretics of, 344, 450.
- Commixti*, 206.
- Communelli*, 206.
- Concorezenses*, 418, 427.
- Confessions of Faith*, Waldensian, 121.
- Consolamentum*, or consolation, 164, 198, 206, 392, 394, 419, 427, 433.
- Consolati*, 177, 244, 271, 280, 382.
- Conrad of Lichtenau*, writer quoted by, 397.
- Convenensa*, 245, 278, 293, 298, 304, 458.
- Credentes*, see *Believers*.
- Crosses*, ordered to be worn by heretics, 193, 195, 196, 216.
- Culpæ*, ordered, to be recorded, 197, 208.—Noticed, 219.—Specimens of, 270, &c.
- Dancing*, 114.
- Deacons*, 382, 425.
- Diaconus Major*, 280.
- Disputatio* inter Catholicum et Paterninum hæreticum, 471.
- Doctrines* common to Albig. and Wald. 230.—Peculiar to Albig. 233.—Peculiar to Wald. 241.
- Dominicans*, institution of, 399.
- Ebrardus Bethuniensis*, 98, 385.
- Eckbert*, 350.
- Endura*, 235, 247, 250, 285, 288, 434, 459.
- Ermengardus*, 378.
- Ecervinus*, letter of, 343.
- Fasting* of Albig. 246, 390. See *Endura*.
- Francisci*, 206.
- Frederic II.* Edict of, 205.
- Garatenses*, 206.
- Germany*, heretics in, 405.
- Gibbon's*, account of the Paulicians, 67,—of the origin of the Albigenes, 83.—Error respecting the Book of Sentences, 217.
- Glorious Recovery*, extracts relating to, 474.
- Gregory IX.* decretal of, 200, letter of, 201.
- Guilielmus Brito*, 396.
- Guilielmus Neubrigensis*, 365.
- Halinarus*, Abp. of Lyons, anecdote of, 111.
- Henry Abbot of Clairvaux*, letter of, 151.
- Henry, Dr.* his citation of W. of Newbury, 366.
- Henricians*, 446.
- Heresy*, causes of, 401.
- Heretics*, charged with evasion, 263.—How to be distinguished, 198, 433.—How they introduce themselves to the great, 435.
- Heretication*, 276, 306, 382, 458.
- Humiliati*, 177, 398.
- Imposition of hands*—see *Consolamentum*.
- Innocent IV.* letter of, 209, 210.
- Inquisitors*, rules for, 197, 202, 208.—How far to be trusted, 220.—Testimony of one, 2.

- Interdict*, 183, 414.  
*Inzabbatati*, 202, 205, 263. see *Xabatatenses*.  
*John the Baptist*, opinion of Albig. respecting, 380, 387, 392, 429.  
*John Brompton*, 366.  
*Josepini*, 177, 201, 210, 446.  
*Lateran III.* Council of (in 1179). 175.—*IV.* Council of (in 1215) 189.  
*Lavaur*, Council of (1213), 21.  
*Legacies* obtained by Albig. teachers, 291, 316, 463.  
*Leonistæ*, 205, 405, 406.—Mr. Faber's account of, 417.  
*Limborch*, extract from, 229.  
*Lollard's*, 406.  
*Lombardy*, 281, 404, 414.  
*Lomber's*, Council of (in 1165) 139.  
*Louis IX.* letter of, 21.  
*Major and Majoralis*, titles among the Albig. 279, 282.—among the Wald. 255.  
*Manichæans*, 432—how far the Paulicians were so, 67, 69—how far the Albig. 83.  
*Melioramentum*, 252.  
*Milner*, remarks on his Ch. History, 43—his account of the Paulicians, 72—his remarks on the proceedings at Thoulouse, in 1178, 168—at Cologne, 344—respecting the Publicans at Oxford, 367—his censure of Mosheim, 43, 57, 70, 369.  
*Montpellier*, Council of (in 1195), 183.  
*Mosaic law*, 379, 386, 387.  
*Moses*, not a Magician, 379.  
*Mosheim*, authorities respecting the Waldenses, 59. See, *Milner*.  
*Narbonne*, Council of (in 1235), 197.  
*Nicolas*, Pope, letter to the Empress Theodora, 72.  
*Oaths*, unlawfulness of, 110, 156, 166, 230.  
*Odo*, Bp. his Constitutions, 183.  
*Oliverius*, sect of, 142.  
*Ordinarii*, 417.  
*Ordinati*, 382.  
*Orleans*, Council of (in 1027), 89.  
*Ortlibenses*, 34, 416, 417.  
*Ortoleni*, 206.  
*Oxford*, Council of (in 1160), 90, 138.  
*Panis benedictus*, of the Albigenses, 261, 278, 288, 289, 296, 308, 317, 420.  
*Passagini*, 177, 201, 210, 449.  
*Passau*, churches of, 404.  
*Patareni*, 188, 200, 206, 210, 445.  
*Patarini*, 177. *Paterini*, 431.  
*Patrini*, 175, 416, 447.  
*Patriarchs*, whether saved, 386, 392, 429.  
*Paulicians*, opinions of, 61,—persecuted by Theodora, 73—their introduction into Europe, 86—on the name, 445.  
*Pauperes minores*, 399.  
*Perfecti*, 196, 271, 280, 394, 415, 416, 447.  
*Peter of Vaux-Sernai*, 391.  
*Petrus Chrysogonus*, letter of, 161.  
*Petrus de Pilichdorf*, 439.  
*Physicians*, regulations respecting, 194, 207, 210, 292.  
*Piphles*, 353.  
*Pope* of the Albigenses, 85, 191.  
*Poplicani*, see *Publicans*.  
*Præpositus*, among the Albig. 382.  
*Prayer*, offered by Waldenses, 255.  
*Prophets*, whether saved, 386, 392, 429.  
*Publicans*, 91, 175, 364, 371, 396.  
*Questions*, Ebrard's to catch heretics, 391.  
*Radulphus de Coggeshale*, 371.  
*Radulphus de Diceto*, 366.  
*Raymond*, Count of Thoulouse, letter of, 145.—Statutes of, 195.  
*Rector*, 382.  
*Reinerius Saccho*, 23, 400.  
*Renunciation* of the Church, form of, 396.  
*Rheims*, Council of, (in 1049) 89.  
*Rites* peculiar to the Albigenses, 244.  
*Roncaroli*, 206.  
*Runcarii*, 405, 416.  
*Salutation* of the heretics, 252, 293, 315.  
*Scriptures*, translation of, 127, 402, 438.—Forbidden by the Council of Thoulouse, 194.—Opinions of the Paulicians respecting, 67—see *Albigenses*.  
*Sens*, Council of, (in 1198) 184.  
*Sentences*, Book of, 212.—On Albigenses and Waldenses, 270.  
*Sermo*, 215.



- Siscidenses*, 416.  
*Son*, elder and younger, 425, 448.  
*Speronista*, 201, 206, 210, 446.  
*Stephanus de Ansa*, or *de Emsa*, 128.  
*Stephanus de Borbone*, 128, 438.  
*Sylvester Pope*, legend respecting, 38, 408, 440.
- Tarragona*, Council of, (in 1242) 202.  
*Texerant*, 353.  
*Theodora*, the Empress, persecuted the Paulicians, 73.—Letter of Pope Nicolas to, 72, 78.  
*Thoulouse*, state of, (in 1147) 19.—Council of, (in 1056) 20.—(In 1119) 90, 138.—(In 1229) 102.  
*Thuanus*, testimony respecting the Waldenses, 16.  
*Tours*, Council of, (in 1163) 18.  
*Tract*, anonymous, *De heresi l'auip. de Lugd.* 468, 472.
- Valdenses*. Bernard of Fontcaud's etymology, 104, 373.  
*Vallenses*, 37.  
*Vestitus*, 193, 208, 338.  
*Vezelai*, history of the Monastery of, 363.
- WALDENSES, origin of, 33, 109, 127, 304, 410, 467, 468 n.—On the name, 96.—Earliest use of it, 181.—Disputed against the other heretics, 439.—Those about Thoulouse came from Burgundy, 265.—Doctrines peculiar to, 241.—Rites peculiar to, 255.—Military character, 474.—Their practice of prayer, 255, 322, 323, 325, 332, 457.—Of wearing sandals, 395, 399.—Of blessing the table, 198, 257, 263, 324.
- Their doctrine respecting Absolution 231, 332, 334, 411, 412, 442.—Baptism, 410.—Benedictions, 413.—Burial, 415.—Canonizations, 412.—Celibacy of the Clergy, 411.—Chanting, 414.—Church of Rome, 233, 333, 335, 398, 407, 408.—Churches, material, 376, 413.—Churching, 411.—Confession, 198, 231, 323, 332, 334, 411, 442.—Consecrations, 413.—Cross, adoration of, 412.—Sign of, 412.—The Eucharist, 416.—Excommunica-
- tion, 412.—Fasts, 375, 413.—Festivals of the Church, 413.—Images, 414.—Indulgences, 241, 335, 412.—Judgment, human, 241, 326, 334, 395.—Jurisdiction, ecclesiastical, 416.—Kiss of peace, 411.—Latin prayers and scriptures, 411.—Legends of the Saints, 412.—Lights in Churches, 414.—Marriage, 411.—Of the Clergy, *ibid.*—The Mass, 410.—Masses for the dead, 375, 414, 415.—Monastic institutions, 409.—Oaths, 110, 230, 322, 323, 326, 327, 329, 333, 395, 415.—Offerings, 387.—Ordeis, 241.—Patron saints, 412.—Penance, 231, 323, 332, 334, 411, 442.—Pictures, 414.—Poverty, 335, 398, 440.—Preaching, 374, 412.—By women, 375, 412.—Processions, 414.—Purgatory, 335, 376, 415.—Relics, 412.—Sacraments, 410.—Scripture, as the only authority, 412.—Singing in churches, 410, 414.—Tithes, 409.—Titles of dignity, 409.—Tonsure, 412.—Tradition, 413.—Transubstantiation, 198, 395, 401, 442, 470.—Unction, extreme, 411.—Vestments of the Priests, 414.—Vigils, 412.—Water, holy, 414.—See also, *Albigenses* and *Waldenses*.
- Waldensian* manuscripts, authenticity of, 114.—Confessions of faith, 121.—Major and Majoralia, 255, 258.
- Waldo*, Peter, his name, 107.—Translated the Scriptures, 127.
- Warini*, 206.
- William of Newbury*, 365.
- William of Puy-Laurens*, 439.
- Witness*, sentence on a false one, 299.
- Witnesses*, the claim of the Waldenses to be so considered, 118, 468, 474.
- Women*, how saved, 389.—Not to be touched by the perfecti among the Albigenses, 248, 249.—Allowed to preach by the Waldenses, 375, 412.
- Xabatenses*, or *Xabatati*, 101, 390.—See *Inzabbatati*.
- Zapatati*, 182.—See preceding word.

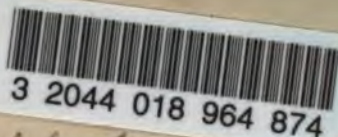










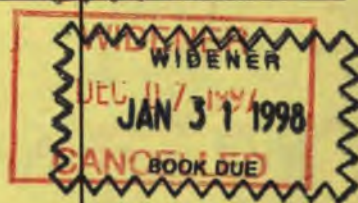
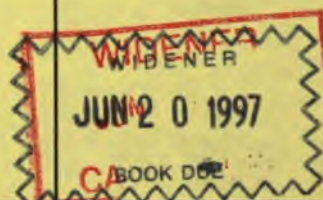


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